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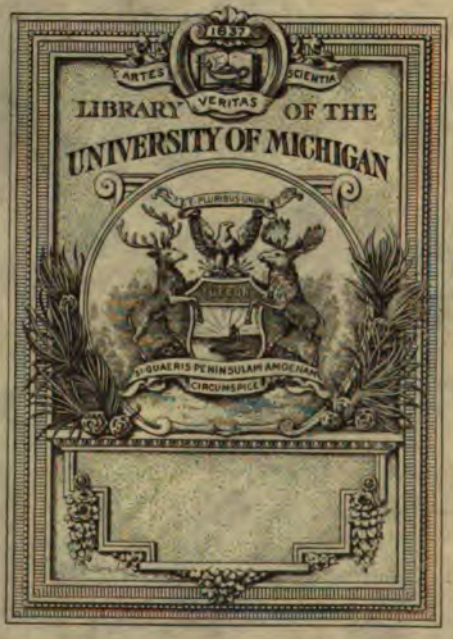
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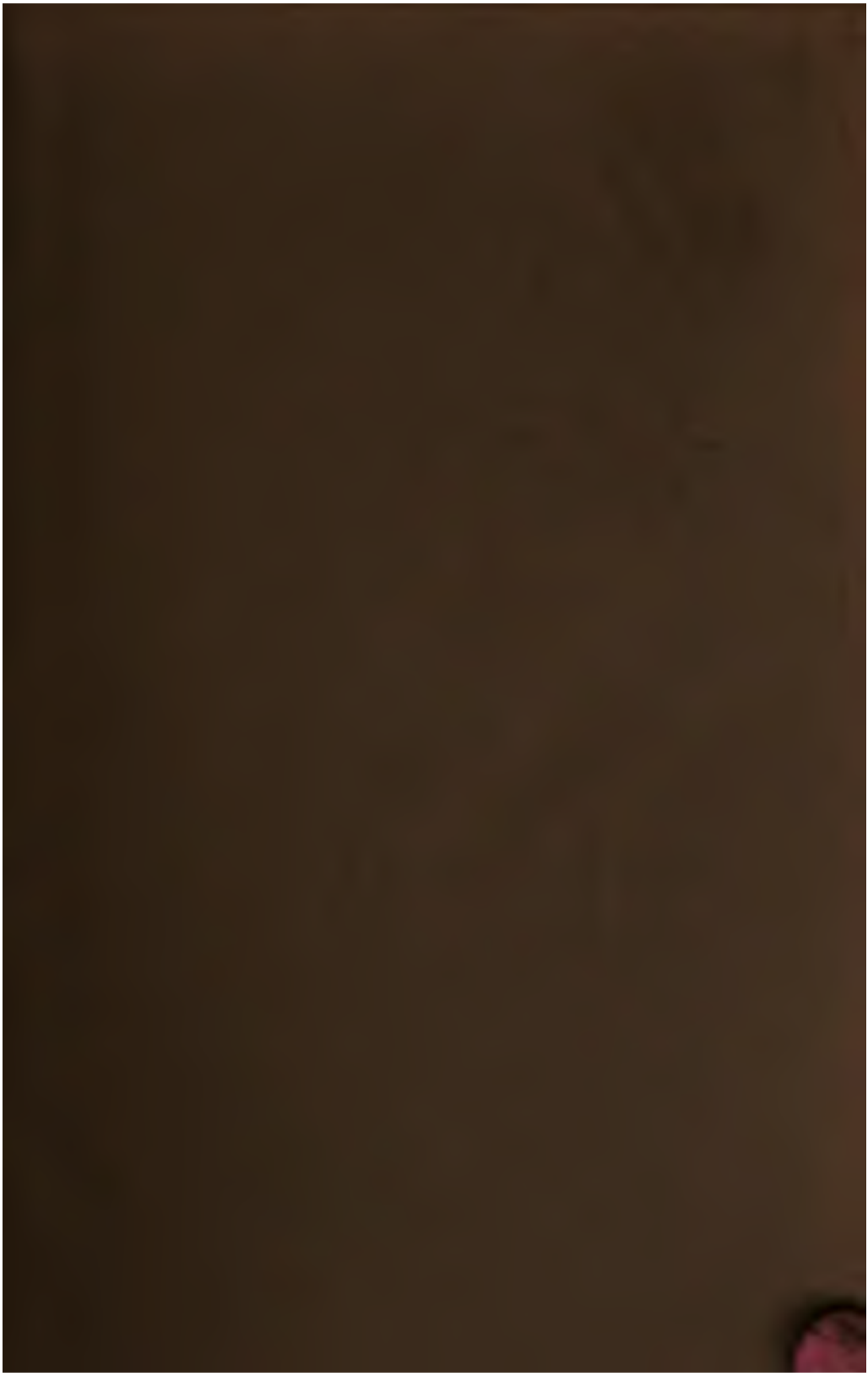

MEMOIRS

OF

FIELD-MARSHAL

THE DUKE DE SALDANHA.

MEMOIRS

OF

FIELD-MARSHAL

THE DUKE DE SALDANHA

WITH

SELECTIONS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE.

65-9:14

BY THE CONDE DA CARNOTA,
AUTHOR OF THE "MARQUIS OF POMBAL."

John Smith
Athelstane, conde de

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

WITH PORTRAIT AND MAPS.

LONDON:
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1880.

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MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MARSHAL SALDANHA.

CHAPTER I.

1839—1841.

Saldanha takes no part in politics—Serious differences between England and Portugal—British claims—Lord Palmerston's instructions to Lord Howard—Saldanha sent for to the Palace—Advises the Queen—Premier declines to alter Government policy—Bomfim forms a Ministry—Peremptory orders received by Lord Howard—Saldanha again sent for—His conversation with the Queen—With Lord Howard—Threatened seizure of Madeira—Proposal to send Palmella to London—His refusal—Saldanha sent for—He consents to go to London—He persuades Lord Howard to disobey instructions—He arrives at London—Interviews with Lord Palmerston—British Government accepts his proposals—Returns to Portugal—Mission to Madrid—Treaty which gave rise to it—Negotiations—Insulting articles in the *Gaceta*—An apology demanded and given—Patriotic letter to the King—Douro question terminated—Receives the Order of Charles III.—Letter to his wife—Letters from Magulhães and Reis—Ministerial changes at Lisbon—Saldanha refuses to accept office—Espartero elected sole Regent—Letter from Reis—Farewell dinner—Leaves Madrid—Last despatch from Madrid.

AFTER the return of Saldanha to Portugal, he refrained from taking any part in politics. He passed his time principally in Lisbon or in Cintra, where he delighted to superintend the improvements which he was making on his property. Meanwhile, serious complications, which had long existed between the British Government and that of Portugal, embarrassed the relations of the two countries, until war had become imminent. The demands of England were not only for the payment of certain monies, alleged to be due by Portugal to England and to various British subjects; but, also, that the treaties between

the two countries, for the suppression of the slave trade, should be honestly carried out by Portugal; that country having received the sum of £600,000 from England, as compensation for losses computed to be sustained by Portugal through the abolition of that nefarious traffic. It is needless to trouble the reader with the contents of the Blue Book on this subject. A few short quotations from the despatches passing between Lord Palmerston and the British Minister at Lisbon, will suffice to show the attitude which the British Government had assumed.

As early as May 12th, 1838, Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Howard de Walden, saying: "You will observe, that Great Britain has paid to Portugal the enormous sum of £600,000, on condition that Portugal should co-operate with Great Britain in finally and utterly abolishing the Slave Trade; and that, although Portugal has received the price of her co-operation, she has not hitherto performed her part of the reciprocal conditions. * * * * For this purpose, H. M. Government have offered to that of Portugal a fresh treaty; by means of which such co-operation would be given, in a manner honourable to the Portuguese Nation and Crown. * * * * Your lordship is, accordingly, instructed formally and distinctly to declare to the Portuguese Government, that if Portugal shall decline, or shall any longer demur, to conclude that treaty, Great Britain will proceed, without further delay, to accomplish by her own means the object, for the attainment of which she will thus have failed in obtaining the co-operation of Portugal."

In the same month, Lord Howard wrote to Lord Palmerston, —while further negotiations were pending, before the Treaty was signed—that "he had consented to some unimportant alterations in it, in order to render it less objectionable to the Portuguese people, and to frustrate the opposition which the *Clubs* might offer, when the Treaty should be presented to the Cortes."

On the 21st of February, 1839, Lord Howard writes again to his Government: "that the Portuguese Minister was governed by some powerful influence;" and he boldly declares that: "If the Treaty is not concluded, it is in deference to some of the

minister's political supporters, who are interested in the traffic." In another despatch, written when Sá da Bandeira was President of the Ministry, Lord Howard wrote:

"I do not attribute to the Viscount de Sá da Bandeira a desire to protect the Slave Trade: for, I believe he has a great idea of the value and resources of the Portuguese colonies in Africa; and thinks that if well governed, by getting rid of the system of exporting the negroes, they might make amends to the mother country for the loss of Brazil. I am nevertheless satisfied, that the object of the Viscount is delay, for the purpose of escaping the daily persecutions of those who, by active intrigues, oppose the suppression of the Slave Trade; and, as he thinks, to conciliate, for a time, persons whom he considers of political importance, by granting them a term for their transactions, before he cuts off the source of great advantages, the loss of which might provoke an hostility, very inconvenient to the present Government during the coming elections."

That Lord Howard was correct in supposing that the Minister desired delay, may be inferred from the fact, that two Notes which were addressed by him to the Government on the 28th of April and the 5th of May, 1839, on the subject of the Slave Trade, were not replied to until the 11th of September in that year; during which interval, the Portuguese Ministry was presided over by the Baron da Ribeira de Sabrosa, who formed a Ministry on the 18th of April, and remained its President until the 26th of November following. Immediately before the last mentioned day, Saldanha was unexpectedly summoned to the Palace. Upon his entering the royal presence, her Majesty consulted him on the relations subsisting between England and Portugal. Saldanha advised the Queen forthwith to send for her Prime Minister, and to insist upon his adopting a line of policy more consistent with the dignity and safety of the Nation.

The President, Ribeira de Sabrosa (who held also the Portfolio for Foreign Affairs), was called; and he at once declared himself unwilling to alter the policy of the Government. All of that ultra-liberal party detested England and the English. The slightest compliance, on the part of their leaders, with the demands of England would, of itself, inevitably have hurled

them from power. Under these circumstances, the Queen dismissed her Ministers; and, on the 26th of November, a new Administration was formed under the Presidency of the Count do Bomfim. After some slight modifications during the interval, the Ministry, on the 28th of December, stood as follows:—

War and Marine . .	COUNT DO BOMFIM.
Home	RODRIGO DA FONSECA MAGALHÃES.
Justice	ANTONIO BERNARDO DA COSTA CABRAL.
Finance . . .	FLORIDO R. PEREIRA FERRAZ.
Foreign	COUNT DE VILLA REAL.

The apparent desire of the new Ministry, on entering office, to comply with the just demands of England, may have been sincere; but it led to no satisfactory results. The men in power, supported as they were by the same followers as their predecessors, appeared unwilling (or, perhaps, were unable) to alter the policy which had hitherto been pursued. A defiance to England was taken as the true measure of their patriotism. At all events, the Count do Bomfim was not more successful in rescuing his country from her impending danger than had been his predecessors in the Ministry.

We need not enter into the arguments which, on both sides, were put forward respecting the Slave Trade Convention, either for delay or for the alteration of its provisions. Still less is it necessary to state the full particulars and words of the pecuniary claims which were made on Portugal. Suffice it to say, that one was for a sum of £173,030 with interest accruing, from the year 1824, when General Clinton's Division was sent to Portugal. The claim was now made by the British Government for expenses incurred in connection with that expedition. Two others were also made of sums of £20,325 and £103,930 due to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Beresford for arrears of pay.

Affairs remained thus until the month of May, 1840, when, from remonstrances, and peremptory, even threatening, demands, the British Government proceeded to action. Exasperated by the conduct of so many successive governments in Portugal, Lord Palmerston determined upon being no longer

trifled with. Early in May, a British war-steamer entered the Tagus with most positive instructions to Lord Howard, that if the Convention were not signed by the Portuguese Government on or before the 15th of May, he was to order the Captain to proceed to Malta; whence, a force would be despatched to take immediate possession of the Portuguese colonies of Goa and Macáo.

The Queen again called Saldanha to the Palace. On his entering the Royal presence, her Majesty anxiously asked him if he knew the state in which affairs then stood between the Governments of Great Britain and Portugal. Saldanha replying that he was but imperfectly acquainted with what was now going forward, the Queen desired him to go and see his friend, Lord Howard de Walden, who would, doubtless, put him *au courant*. To this Saldanha answered that, whatever Lord Howard might say to him in confidence, as a friend, he would be unable to repeat; but that he would willingly go to him on the part of her Majesty. On arriving he was most warmly received by Lord Howard; and at once told him that, if he entertained the same feelings of confidence in him which he formerly did, he hoped that he would frankly make known in what state the relations between the two Governments now stood. "I will be as frank with you as ever, and tell you everything," replied Lord Howard. "But," interrupted Saldanha; "I must inform you that I come on the part of the Queen." "In that case," was the reply, "I will tell you nothing; but you shall read not only the official despatches I have received, but my private letters from our friend Palmerston." These being unreservedly placed before him, Saldanha read the whole of the correspondence.

On his return to the Palace, he told the Queen that the British Government was very indignant at the treatment it had received from Portugal; especially during the administration of Ribeira de Sabrosa. That its indignation was increased, by finding that the claims of France and the United States upon Portugal had been duly satisfied; whilst those of England had either been unattended to, or had been met by the most cavilling objections. Therefore, the British Government had deter-

mined, as a last resource, upon taking possession of the Portuguese Asiatic colonies, should satisfaction not be given without delay. That he, Saldanha, had moreover become convinced, that England would not be deterred from these severe measures by any apprehension of the consequences that, in retaliation, might befall British subjects resident in Portugal: for he had read, in a private letter from Lord Palmerston to Lord Howard, that, in such case, the British Government would immediately take possession of the Island of Madeira, and hold it until all claims were satisfied.

The young Queen was in the deepest affliction and consternation at what she heard from Saldanha. She enquired what could be done under these circumstances. Saldanha replied that he felt quite convinced, that the orders given to Lord Howard were peremptory; that he could not himself deny the justice of most of the claims that were made; and that her Majesty should at once send for her Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs: which she accordingly did. In this dilemma, the Government called a meeting of Senators and Deputies; and, although Saldanha had never taken his seat in either House, he was officially invited by the Minister to attend. This he declined to do. After a long discussion, it was proposed that some one should immediately be sent to London with full powers to agree upon terms with the British Government. All eyes were at once fixed upon the Duke de Palmella, as being the most suitable person to undertake the unpleasant mission. But the Duke rose and said: "I thank the assembly very much for the compliment they have paid me; but I declare positively that I will not go: and the only person who is likely to have any influence with the British Government is Marshal Saldanha."

In despair, the Queen again sent for Saldanha. She implored him to assist her in these distressing circumstances. What could he do? The Prime Minister was the Count do Bomfim, to whom he bore no ill-will as a political or military adversary; but he could not forget the strange misrepresentations sent forth *under the name* of that General, after the battle of Chão da Feira in 1837. Besides, he was called upon to repair the

blunders of his own political opponents; and to undergo the humiliation of acknowledging a political defeat, where he himself had had no command. But all personal considerations gave way to the entreaties of the Queen, and the hope of saving his country from indignity. He promised that he would go and see Lord Howard; and then return with an answer to her Majesty. Lord Howard said that his instructions were most peremptory. The war steamer must infallibly leave the Tagus on the 15th, if, by that day, the Slave Trade Convention was not signed, and the claims were not acknowledged. Saldanha concealed from Lord Howard the solicitations of the Queen—that he himself should go to London on a special mission—because he was desirous of making such terms, or of obtaining such concessions, as should render so painful a sacrifice unnecessary. On his return to the Palace, he told the Queen what had passed. In the course of the day, he received a letter from Sr. D. Fernando desiring his presence at the Palace at 8 o'clock on the following morning. On arriving there, he found all the Ministers, together with the Duke de Palmella, already with the Queen. The entreaties of her Majesty and the arguments of Palmella induced him again to return to the English Legation. On arriving there, and entering Lord Howard's study, Saldanha at once exclaimed, "My dear Howard, I am come to tell you, that you must not order the war steamer to leave the Tagus on the 15th." "Why not?" returned Lord Howard with some surprise. "Because," said Saldanha, "I leave Lisbon myself, the day after to-morrow, with full powers to treat with the British Government; and you know me too well to think that I would accept such a mission, unless I felt certain of bringing it to a satisfactory termination." "By G—d!" exclaimed Lord Howard, "you are the only man in Europe, who would have accepted it at all, under the circumstances; and after the treatment you have received from all parties. But," continued he, "I am in a dilemma. My instructions are so positive. Such a proposal as you now make was never contemplated either by Lord Palmerston or by me. With any other chief than him, I could not take upon myself such a responsibility of disobeying orders, without an almost

certainty of losing my place. But I know that Lord Palmerston has so high an opinion of you, that if you assure me you will leave the day after to-morrow, and that you go with full powers, I will risk the responsibility of disobeying my most positive instructions."

After having informed the Queen of what had passed with the British Minister, Saldanha returned to take his leave on the following morning. The Ministers were present; as was also Palmella, who had been requested by his brother-in-law, the Count de Villa Real, to draw out the instructions for Saldanha's guidance. They had been read out, and fully approved of by all the Ministers. But Saldanha observed; "If I go on this mission, it is a proof that you place confidence in me. I shall have time to study the question during the voyage. The claims that are just, I shall readily yield. Those which I consider are not so, I shall contest. Whatever concessions I may obtain from Lord Palmerston, I feel assured will be as frankly conceded as they are frankly proposed, without losing valuable time in endeavouring to over-reach each other." The Ministers readily acquiesced in this suggestion; and Saldanha hopefully set out on a mission of such vital importance to his country.

On the 17th of May, Saldanha reached London. It is not necessary to give the details of his proceedings there. Suffice it to say, that after several interviews with Lord Palmerston, whose irritation against the Portuguese Government was overcome only by the prudence and tact of Saldanha, his Lordship was pleased to consent to a withdrawal of his peremptory orders for the attack on the Indian Possessions of Portugal; and to accept the Marshal's proposals for the gradual settlement of the various monetary claims of the British Government. At one of these interviews, Lord Palmerston declared to Saldanha that it was one of the proudest achievements of his public career that, whilst all Europe was combining to recognize D. Miguel as King of Portugal, when the English Government, from King William to the lowest of his Ministers, were in favour of that recognition, he, Palmerston, alone opposed it, and, so strongly, that he succeeded in bringing the King and the Ministry round to his view. "And with what

result?", asked his Lordship. "*Trainé dans la boue* in the streets of Lisbon and in the mouths of ballad singers, I have been insulted in the Parliament, and abused in the Council of State of Portugal. Such ingratitude is hard to bear; and you yourself, Marshal, know how ungrateful they have been to you."

His reception by the Royal Family of England, and by the statesmen of all parties, was most gratifying to Saldanha. Nor were his friends at home behindhand in acknowledging the magnitude of the services which he had rendered to his Country by his most successful mission; even Saldanha's political opponents were now forced to recognize the magnanimity and self-abnegation of his character. Bomfim, the President of the Cabinet, who had faced him upon the field and aspersed his character in the Palace, began to feel the injustice he had done to one who never bore enmity to his fellow-countrymen.

But dearer than all to Saldanha was the approbation of his Sovereign, conveyed in a Royal Letter, dated Sept. 5, 1840, in which, after noting the "marked zeal, efficiency, and great intelligence," with which he had conducted the business entrusted to him, she says:—"I thank you for these fresh services; and feel confident that you will continue to render similar ones with the same care, courage, and loyalty with which you have rendered so many to the Nation and to me, whenever the welfare of the Country has required them."

The next occasion on which the services of Saldanha were called into requisition by the Government proved one of the most important events of his career as a diplomatist; not because any material advantage was acquired for Portugal by his mission to Madrid, but because the evils he averted, by the caution and firmness he displayed in conducting the negociations, were such as might have produced the most baneful consequences to his country, and would, most probably, have, eventually, caused its dissolution.

Previous to the existence of railways, when the most fertile provinces of Spain, were, from the absence of means of communication, isolated, as it were, from one another and from the rest of Europe, their water-paths were the constant study of the Spanish engineers; and plans for utilizing them were con-

tinually being presented to the Government for its approval. Recognizing the enormous utility to be derived from the development of the river navigation, as affording a means for transporting the agricultural produce of the isolated districts to the sea; each Administration endeavoured to add something to that which had already been done; relying upon those endeavours as a source of popularity, and the means of retaining a firmer hold upon the reins of power.

Canals were dug, or projected, in various directions; and attempts were made to remove the obstacles which impeded the navigation of the rivers.

But the rivers of Spain, though draining a large extent of country, are not navigable for any great distance, owing to the mountainous nature of the Peninsula. The Ebro, magnificent as it is, is navigable only from Tudela to the sea; the Guadalquivir admits only of sloops ascending to Seville; and the Guadiana, though available for small flat-bottomed boats from Mertola to Villa Real de Santo Antonio, is navigable for larger vessels only to Pomerão; and even this is due to the enterprise and untiring energy of an Englishman, Mr. James Mason.

The eyes of the Spaniards and of their rulers naturally turned to those important rivers which, rising in Spanish territory, traverse the Portuguese part of the Peninsula, and empty themselves into the Atlantic. Most of those rivers were navigable for some distance; and the obstacles which impeded their further navigation were far from insuperable. The Tagus, the noblest of the rivers of the Peninsula, is available for small boats up to Alcantara, on the frontier; and had been carefully studied during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries by engineers who had declared that it might be made navigable to Aranjuez; and, by the Manzanares, even to Madrid. Its port, one of the finest in the world, would furnish the means of exporting the corn, oil, and wine, of Estremadura and New Castille, which, from want of purchasers, were unprofitably accumulating; while, in exchange, England would be enabled to send its manufactures into the heart of the country, at a considerably lower cost than if it had to disembark them at the Mediterranean ports. The

Douro, draining the provinces of Leon and Old Castille, was equally important, could its entire course be rendered navigable, and the rich produce of those provinces be conveyed by its waters to Oporto—there to be shipped for the Colonies, or for the northern countries of Europe.

There was, however, a greater obstacle to the navigation of these rivers than any that Nature had opposed. Both of them, for a long distance, traversed Portugal, and were only navigable in Portuguese territory. The Portuguese, always jealous of their more powerful neighbours, and still more so after having felt their yoke in the commencement of the XVIIth century, would not, for a moment, entertain the idea of allowing them free transit on those parts of the rivers already navigable; and, without such consent, the Spaniards felt how useless it would be to attempt to render them so in their own territory.

But, when troublous times arose, and patriotism yielded to the craving for individual triumph or party success, Portuguese statesmen began to look upon the concession of a free transit on the rivers of their country as a means of conciliating their neighbours, and of obtaining their assistance to carry out their own purposes. In 1829, D. Miguel made a Treaty with Spain for the free navigation of the Tagus; which, however, was never carried into effect; and strenuous efforts were made to obtain a like privilege upon the Douro.

The Douro, rising in the mountains of Orbion, in the province of Soria, after a course of about 540 miles, empties itself into the sea at S. João da Foz—four miles to the west of Oporto. It first enters Portuguese territory near Paradella, some eleven miles beyond Miranda do Douro; and, from that place it is navigable, though with difficulty and danger. Leaving Paradella, it divides Spain from Portugal for some distance; and then enters the latter country at Barca d'Alva.

From the XVIth century onwards, many projects had been made for rendering the Douro navigable in Spain. The celebrated Antonelli had proposed to make it available for boats and rafts to Tordesillas; thence by its tributary, the Pisuerga, to Dueñas; and from this latter place to Burgos by the Arlanzon. These plans were more eagerly brought forward at the

commencement of the present century; but the enthusiasm upon the subject became intense, when it was proposed to unite, by means of a canal, the Ebro to the Douro; thus forming a new communication between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, which would render the passage of the Straits of Gibraltar, always a sore subject with Spain, of less importance.

In 1835, overtures having been made to the Portuguese Cabinet, presided over by the Marquis de Saldanha, (the Duke de Palmella being Minister for Foreign Affairs) a Treaty for the free navigation of the Douro was finally drawn up; and signed on the 31st of August, 1835. Spain, on this occasion, was represented by its Minister Plenipotentiary at Lisbon, Don Evaristo Perez de Castro y Colomero, and Portugal by the Duke de Palmella. The Charter, by which at that period Portugal was governed, not requiring that such a treaty should be presented to the Chambers, it was ratified in Spain on the 7th of September; and, in Portugal, on the 20th; the ratifications being exchanged on the 21st of the same month.

This treaty, composed of thirteen articles, merely fixed certain general principles, which were to govern the communication between the two countries; and its further provisions were to be agreed on by a mixed Commission composed of two Spanish and two Portuguese members; who were, within one month from the exchange of ratifications, to meet in one or other of the two countries, at some place afterwards to be selected; and, in combination, proceed to draw up a tariff of tolls, and a series of by-laws for regulating the transit by the river; which, after being duly approved by both Governments, would be considered as forming part of the Treaty.

The Commission met; and, on the 14th of April, 1836, gave in a "Project for the Police-laws, and Tariff of Tolls, for the Free Navigation of the Douro."

Emerging from a Civil War which had absorbed their attention, the people did not oppose a treaty which emanated from so distinguished a diplomatist as the Duke de Palmella, then at the height of his fame and power: but, when the "Project of Police-laws and Tariff of Tolls" was agreed to, and the period arrived for putting the Treaty into execution, the public eye

was turned upon it; and the political parties, who were already feeling their way to the movement which, in September, 1836, abolished the Charter, eagerly seized it as an argument to attack the Government, which had succeeded the Saldanha Cabinet in November, 1835; and, on the 19th of the month in which the "Project" was presented, the Ministry fell; and was succeeded by one presided over by the Duke da Terceira: this, in its turn, fell before the Revolution of September.

The Setembrista party, originating from the mob, would hardly approve of a measure obnoxious to a majority of its supporters; and refused to sanction the "Project;" insisting that it should be revised by a fresh Commission.

But it was not on patriotic grounds that many Portuguese looked with disfavour upon the anxiety of the Spaniards to share in the navigation of the Douro. They considered,—perhaps with some show of reason—that the importation of corn from Spain would ruin their own agriculture; that the low rate at which the Spanish wines would be offered to foreign traders in the very city of Oporto, would be highly injurious to the value of their own produce; and, as Spaniard and Contrabandist were synonymous along the frontier, where their neighbours carried on that lawless traffic, they judged that the immunities granted to lawful commerce would often shield the daring but wily smuggler.

Cabinet succeeded Cabinet, but nothing further was done in the matter; each looked upon the ratification of the Treaty as a shoal which must be steered clear of, if it wished to retain office. Spain, though still struggling with the Carlists and harassed by the intrigues of the several Parties who upheld the Constitution, never lost sight of its interest; but seized every opportunity of urging that the Treaty should be put in force; hoping, probably, to secure, by these means, the sympathies of the northern Provinces. The Carlist War came to an end with the Convention of Bergara; and (the *Moderados* having gained a majority in the Cortes,) Perez de Castro, who had negotiated the Treaty for the Free Navigation of the Douro, became President of the Cabinet. Considering his reputation as a statesman to be compromised by delay in the execution of the Treaty, he

pressed every argument upon the Portuguese Ministry to induce them to carry it into effect. The Spanish Representative in Lisbon had numerous and long conferences with the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs. General Alava, in London, was ordered to endeavour to persuade the British Government to interfere in the contest; and efforts were made at Paris for a similar purpose.

Every attempt to persuade the Portuguese Cabinet to yield was abortive; and every influence brought to bear was unavailing. The Ministers knew that by acquiescence they would sign their own dismissal; and, therefore, steadily refused.

The change in the legislation of the Monarchy—brought about by the Revolution of September (and its offspring the Constitution of 1838)—furnished them with an excuse. It had become necessary, under the new law, that all treaties and their consequent tariffs, and by-laws, should go before the Cortes for their approval and sanction. This was not only made known to the Spanish Representative; but, upon the motion of Deputy Midosi, that the papers connected with the Convention for the Free Navigation of the Douro should be placed before the Chamber, the Ministers presented those papers, and thus recognized the authority of the Cortes in the affair.

The difficulties of the situation had increased since Viscount Sá da Bandeira (who had presided over the Cabinet since August 1837,) was forced, in April, 1839, to give place to Baron da Ribeira de Sabrosa; who, as we have seen, was, in November of the same year, succeeded by Count do Bomfim, as President of a Cabinet in which entered Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, Florido Rodrigues Pereira Ferraz, and Antonio Bernardo da Costa Cabral.

From the moment these Ministers held office, the Spanish Government renewed its endeavours to get the affair settled. The Spanish Minister at Lisbon, in his congratulatory Note to the new Administration, expressed the pleasure his Government felt at the accession to power of those who could ensure order; and then entered upon the old subject; declaring the necessity for the immediate action of the Chambers, in approval of a measure which was a consequence and integral part of a treaty

already signed; and ratified at a period when the fundamental law of the Country did not require such approval.

About this time, some articles written by Sr. Oliveira (Chief Clerk at the Foreign Office,) appeared in the "Nacional." These articles were very unfavourable to the Convention, and foretold that its results would be disastrous to the country. The Spanish Minister in Lisbon immediately addressed a Note to the Cabinet, endeavouring to prove, through the said articles, the existence of a settled plan on the part of the *Progressistas* of both countries to overturn their respective Governments; and he pressed the immediate necessity for concluding the Convention, in order to impart a moral strength to the Spanish Cabinet to which that of Portugal owed its existence, and whose support was necessary for its continuance. The Spanish Envoy contested the necessity for taking the Project, or "Regulamento" as it was called, to the Chambers; and he earnestly pressed for its ratification before February 18th, 1840; as, on that day, the Spanish Cortes were to meet; and Perez de Castro, the Premier, considered it necessary, for the preservation of his Ministry, that he should be able to present himself to them armed with the ratified Convention.

In addition to this written communication, the Spanish Diplomatist had several personal conferences with the Minister for Foreign Affairs; and, at length, received an answer to the effect, that the Portuguese Cabinet fully recognized its obligations to Spain; that the question of the Navigation of the Douro was under special consideration; that the Cortes were about to meet; and, carrying out the provisions of the Constitutional Charter, the "Regulamento" would be laid before them; and, that should the Chambers shew signs of hostility, they would be dissolved; when, in the interval between their dismissal and the new elections, the question would be decided without further delay.

The Spanish Envoy, in his first note to the Portuguese Government, had proposed the nomination of two arbitrators to eliminate from the Project already made, any part which might appear contrary to the laws of Portugal; or else of a Commission to draw up a new "Regulamento." The first of these

propositions would have been greatly favourable to the Portuguese; as, under the pretext of being contrary to the laws, it would have allowed of the expurgation from the "Regulamento" of whatever was obnoxious to the Nation. But, solely, as it would appear, with a view to gain time, the second was the proposal selected. The Commissioners were appointed, and began the new "Regulamento."

The Spanish Cortes opened on the 18th of February; and, in the Speech from the Throne, Spain was declared to be at peace with all nations. When, however, Perez de Castro presented himself without the expected ratification of the Treaty, the Senators Landero and Herros remarked on the inconsistency of this assertion, whilst the relations with Portugal were so unsatisfactory. Perez de Castro replied that negotiations were progressing rapidly; but, if they were not brought to a speedy termination, it would be necessary to have recourse to *the last argument of Kings;* as he was convinced of the importance of the Treaty, and the justice of the pretensions of Spain. Again and again the subject was brought forward; and, at a sitting of the Chamber of Senators, at Madrid, on the 24th of March, 1840, it was plainly shewn that the Spaniards looked upon the Douro question as intimately connected with the prosperity of Spain; and that it was being made a means of acquiring popularity.

On the 23rd of May, the new "Regulamento," which had been prepared by the Commission appointed for that purpose, was presented to the Portuguese Government, and approved. The Spanish Minister in Lisbon enquired of the Portuguese Cabinet, whether they would now give it a formal recognition without further delay; and received in reply a solemn promise in the affirmative. He then addressed, on the 26th, a Note to the Portuguese Cabinet, indicating certain details necessary to be observed in the drawing up of the respective decrees of sanction, and in the formalities of ratification. To this no answer was returned. On the 8th of June, another Note announcing the approval of the "Regulamento" by the Spanish Government was sent, which equally remained unanswered. It is difficult to explain the conduct of the Portuguese Ministers,

during this interval, without imputing the grossest bad faith. If they considered that the sanction of the Chambers could be dispensed with,—as would appear to be their opinion, both from the reply to the Spanish Envoy, and from their acceptance of Article 49, which stipulated their approval of the "Regulamento," within one month, and their putting it into execution within three months,—why did they not do so? And if they considered the sanction of the Legislative Body to be necessary, why did they not avail themselves of the fact of that Body having already commenced its sittings, and at once lay the "Regulamento" before it, requesting the least possible delay in its discussion?

The answer is, that the Ministry feared to lay it before the Cortes, or to put it into execution: for they felt that either course would bring their death-warrant. It thus became their plan to temporize, in the hope that Civil War would again break out in Spain, and the obnoxious Treaty be lost sight of in the confusion attendant on such strife. Everything seemed to favour their wish to obtain delay. The Perez de Castro Ministry was tottering. The law of *Ayuntamientos* was fraught with impending tumults; and, on the 11th of June, the Queen Regent, Maria Christina, accompanied by her Prime Minister, had set out on that unfortunate journey, which ended in the fall of the one, and in the exile of the other.

But, in spite of his troubles, and amidst all the difficulties of his arduous position, Perez de Castro never forgot the Douro Convention; and, from every resting place in that journey to Barcelona instructions were forwarded to the Spanish Representative at Lisbon, urging him to deny the necessity for the sanction of the Chambers to the "Regulamento;" and declaring that the consequences of delay would be serious. On the 19th, another and stronger Note of complaint was addressed to the Cabinet; only however to receive an evasive answer, that the Chamber was still engaged in its preliminary sittings, such not being the case.

This could not fail to be highly exasperating to Spain; and the language of her Government, expressed in a Note, dated June 26th, bears the impress of dignity and truth, when it

accuses the Minister for Foreign Affairs of having deliberately broken his word, and deceived the Spanish Cabinet.

Serious changes had taken place in Spain during these few days. Perez de Castro had been dismissed; Juntas had been established; Maria Christina had resigned the Regency; and, quitting her daughter Isabella, had embarked for Marseilles. Espartero, aided by a powerful Cabinet, had constituted a Regency, with himself as President. There was a lull in the strife of parties at Madrid; and the Portuguese Government soon found that the Douro question would not be suffered to rest; as the new Regency at once made evident their desire to gain popularity by obtaining the right of navigation on that river; and, with such men, supported by a large majority of the Nation, and presided over by the victorious and popular Duke de la Vitoria, the idol of the army, the greatest caution was necessary.

In these circumstances, it appeared to the Government at Lisbon that the most prudent course would be to send a special Envoy to the Court of Madrid, in order to explain their unsatisfactory behaviour; and, by the unavoidable delay which would arise in correspondence between the two Capitals, to put off, as much as possible, the evil day. Such a measure required that the Envoy should be a man of high position, and repute; and one whose personal character, and relations with the Statesmen of the neighbouring kingdom, might ensure him a favourable reception.

Saldanha was at once thought of by the Ministers as the man, in whom were united the various qualities necessary to terminate, without disaster, this disagreeable contest. He was called to the Palace, and requested, personally, by the Queen to accept this thankless Mission. Only in consideration of the critical state of affairs did he give his consent; and then, on condition that his stay at Madrid should be but temporary. The Decree naming him to this post was signed on the 25th of September; but it was only on the 23rd of October that he received his credentials and instructions. Immediately afterwards, accompanied by his eldest son, Count de Almoster, and his old and attached friend and Aide-de-Camp, D. Miguel

Ximenes, he set out, by sea, for Cadiz, at which port he arrived on the 25th.

The instructions furnished to Saldanha for this Mission seem to prove the desire of Portuguese Statesmen to avoid executing the "Treaty for the Free Navigation of the Douro." Although that was the chief, if not the sole object of his Special Mission, the Minister for Foreign Affairs informs him that, for the moment, he is not to treat respecting any of the pending questions between the two Countries. His Mission is to be one of observation, and of pacification. He is instructed, that the greatest service he can do to his Country, and to the Throne of his Royal Mistress, will be to guard Portugal against the consequences of the Revolution just effected in Spain; as experience had shewn that the political changes in one country generally affected the other. He was especially to endeavour to discover the plans of the Clubs and secret Societies, which were presumed to have had a large share in bringing about the late events, and whose ramifications were supposed to be extended to every corner of the Peninsula; and he was, as far as possible, to circumvent their intrigues. He was to bring every influence to bear upon the selection of the individual to be named to the post of Minister at the Court of her Most Faithful Majesty, so that he might be one whose character and principles would be palatable to the Portuguese Government; and, if the subject of a husband for the young Queen Isabella were broached during his Mission, he was to endeavour to get the selection postponed; but, if this were not possible, he was to advocate the claims of the son of the Infante D. Francisco de Paula. The subjects which he might, eventually, have to treat upon were asserted to be four:—1st. The claim for the restitution of Olivença; 2nd. The sum owing to Portugal by the Spanish Government for the support of the late Auxiliary Division; 3rd. The Navigation of the Douro; 4th. The little Island at the mouth of the Guadiana. That the third of these subjects was really the important one is proved by the instructions given under these respective heads. The claim for Olivença was to be advanced only in order that, by being once more repeated, it might not be said to have lapsed through delay.

The second claim might, perhaps, be aptly applied, for the purpose of procuring favourable attention to the first. The fourth subject,—the little island at the mouth of the Guadiana,—was to be passed over in silence, as it was not worth raising a question about. With regard to the "Convention for the Free Navigation of the Douro" the Envoy was informed, that the "Regulamento" had been presented to the Chambers; but its discussion had not been urged, out of deference to public opinion, which was decidedly adverse to it. He was carefully to impress upon the minds of Spanish Statesmen the advantage which would result from an alliance between their country and Portugal. In treating these various questions with a view to their fortunate termination, the Envoy should carefully avoid to identify himself with any party or political opinion; should cultivate the friendship of Statesmen and other men of note at Madrid, which the Minister presumed would not be difficult to one who had contracted such world-wide connections during the Peninsular War and the Emigration; and should endeavour to insinuate himself into the confidence and friendship of Espartero, who, himself a successful warrior, would be sure to feel flattered by the attentions and compliments of a man of Saldanha's military rank and reputation, and be inspired with amicable sentiments towards the Marshal and the country he represented. Should obstacles of any magnitude arise, the Envoy was to claim the good offices of the Representatives of France and Great Britain; more especially of the latter, as being the Power which, at that moment, possessed the greatest influence at Madrid, and which would be most disposed to protect the interests of her ancient ally, Portugal.

Such were the elaborate instructions with which Saldanha set out. As we shall soon see, the firm attitude of the Spanish Government rendered them of little avail; and the wily Minister for Foreign Affairs, after nearly drawing his country into a terrible war with a neighbour so far its superior in strength, had, eventually, to fulfil his engagements, and to give the Spaniards the right of free navigation on the Douro, which, to the best of our knowledge, they have as yet made little use of.

It would occupy far too much of our space to follow, step by step, the proceedings of Saldanha in the Spanish Capital. Suffice it to say, that never had his caution, his courage, his power of conciliation, or his extraordinary talents as a diplomatist, been put to a more severe trial. But on no occasion did these qualities fail him—not even when it seemed, to every one but himself, that all hope of preventing a hostile collision between the two countries was at an end.

At one moment the feeling of animosity which was so general in Spain, had shewed itself both in representations forwarded to the Regency, and in the language of the Press. On the 6th of December, an article appeared in the Official Paper, the *Gaceta de Madrid*, speaking of Portugal in terms of insult and contempt. Saldanha's patriotism was aroused; and he would have sought an immediate interview with the Ministers, had it not been Sunday. Next day, another and more violent article having appeared, he at once hastened to Mr. Aston, the British Minister; and, in energetic terms requested his active co-operation in claiming the satisfaction he considered indispensable, if his Mission were to continue. Mr. Aston, although heartily sympathising with Saldanha's just indignation, gave him little hope of obtaining the desired satisfaction. Seeing this, he forthwith prepared a Note to Señor Ferrer, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he demanded either an apology or his passports. A delay was requested, which Saldanha limited to the 11th of the month, insisting that the Editor of the paper should be dismissed, and that the Regency should declare that his dismissal was in consequence of his having made use of expressions insulting to Portugal.

These terms the Regency was very loth to agree to; and active preparations for hostilities were made by both countries. The affair eventually was decided by an apology inserted in the *Gaceta;* which scarcely satisfied Saldanha, as it did not appear in the official part. But, as all the members of the Corps Diplomatique considered this apology sufficient, he accepted it. He nevertheless refused to hold further communication with the Spanish Cabinet, until he had received nstructions from his own Government upon the subject.

The writer in the *Gaceta* had represented Portugal as too contemptible to be worthy of Spanish anger. This remark led Saldanha, when the difficulty arose, to address a letter to the King Consort in which he declared, that the insult which had been offered to the country was owing to the disunion among themselves. He urged their Majesties, in such a moment of danger, to call upon all Portuguese of whatever party to rise in defence of their country; and he trusted that Providence would permit them to profit by the opportunity to put an end to the intestine divisions which had so long afflicted them. He suggested that a Ministry composed of two distinguished men selected from each of the three rival political parties—Miguelites, Chartists and Septembrists—would unite all Portuguese under one banner in defence of their country; and he feared not for the result, since history had shewn that when the national independence was in danger the Portuguese had never paused to count the number of their enemies.

The patriotic suggestions conveyed in the above letter were, fortunately, unnecessary. War did not break out; and the negotiation which was the object of Saldanha's Mission was brought to a satisfactory conclusion about two months later. The Spanish Government, it is true, carried their point—as they were in justice entitled to do—but Saldanha had the satisfaction of knowing that he had extricated the Portuguese Government from the false position in which they had placed themselves; and that he had done so without in any way derogating from the independence and honour of his country.

"It would be impossible," he wrote, on the 31st of January, "to recount all that was said to me by the Ministers; who, yesterday, came to my house to congratulate me upon the happy termination of this formidable question, that had caused us so much uneasiness. The Duke de la Vitoria charged me to assure her Majesty, that she could rely upon the Spanish Army, either to form a line along the frontier, or to enter Portugal should D. Miguel ever succeed in assembling a force. Or that, if the Portuguese Government should require no more than the assistance of two or three thousand men, he himself would take the command of them; for, next to her Most Catholic

Majesty, there was none whom he so much desired to serve as her Most Faithful Majesty; and, thereby, to prove his sympathy with the brave Portuguese Nation."

That same day, whilst Saldanha was at dinner, the Foreign Minister, Sr. Ferrer, called upon him with a copy of the Decree which conferred the Grand Cross of the Order of Carlos III. upon Magalhães, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs; and he announced to the Marshal that a similar distinction had been conferred upon himself; and minor grades of the same Order upon Count de Almoster and D. Miguel Ximenes, the Secretary and military Attaché of his Mission. In his Despatch of the 27th, Magalhães lost no time in recognising the value of the services which Saldanha had rendered to the Government, and to his country. He writes:—"Her Majesty fully appreciates the great efforts you have made for the happy conclusion of this business."

Although the chief purpose of his Mission was now so satisfactorily terminated, Saldanha did not deem it prudent to at once resign his appointment. The political state of Spain was critical; and the elections, which were to take place during the first days of February, inspired grave fears, not only in that country but in Portugal, where a change of Ministry at Madrid would be immediately felt. Saldanha had been instructed, not only to keep his Government informed of whatever was going forward, but, as much as possible, to influence the course of events in Spain in a manner favourable to the interests of Portugal.

We pause, for a moment, amidst the bustle of politics, to insert a very characteristic letter which Saldanha, at this period, addressed to his wife. The Duke da Terceira had held the sinecure post of Governor of the Tower of Belem; and, when it was abolished, he received two contos of reis (£444) in compensation. Saldanha's letter is in English, with here and there a sentence in Portuguese.

"MADRID, *January* 21*st*, 1841.

"MY DEAR AND BELOVED FRIEND,

"By Leal I have received yours of the 21st; and to-day, by the post, the other of the 23rd. Thanks to God

that you are all well; and that you have already taken some exercise, and seen the Queen and the Empress. I know your constitution, and am sure that you will keep in good health by taking regular exercise; therefore, you ought to do it, not only to please your true and very fond husband, but as a duty; as it would be a mortal sin, if, by idleness, you would become ill for want of exercise. We have had our old friend Ximenes ill with a colic; but he is better, and is to get up again, I believe, to-morrow. We have an excellent cook: we dined off fish; and our friend ate so much that we were afraid something would happen. She is a woman of about 40; an excellent cook and a good hand at preserves; she only leaves the house to go to Mass; or when the man brings something to the house which is not in good condition; upon which she gets in a rage and rushes out to make him change it.. Ximenes and I have been trying to persuade José* to marry her; in which case we would willingly bring her with us; but José does not seem disposed to do so, as she has got no teeth left.

"By this time, from what Rodrigo tells me, our son is on his way back; he adds, that Lord Howard likes him very much. Thank God! He is entering the world under excellent auspices; and I feel sure he deserves the good opinion he enjoys.

"My dear friend. We must be just before anything else; for Justice is everything. Even true Liberty is nothing but Justice. Certainly, I do not consider my own services in the least inferior to those of the Duke da Terceira; and, although, considering our private circumstances, it would have been more just to have appointed me Governor of the Tower of Belem, the Government of that time had in favour of its decision the solicitations of the Duke, and the consideration of his being my senior. But, it being done, he acquired a right to the emoluments; and now the two contos were voted as a compensation; and I have not the least shadow of reason to complain of that measure. It is but natural, that the present Ministers should wish to keep me away, if they are afraid of me; but, my dear Angel, be certain that the others, who wish me to be nearer to them, only desire it that I may sacrifice myself to serve them.

* José Vicente. Saldanha's old servant and comrade.

That time is gone. To serve my Queen, my Country, and the welfare of my family, that is all; and good night* to the others. Adieu! God bless you all. Your SALDANHA."

Saldanha now became anxious to return to Portugal; whilst the Minister for Foreign Affairs manifested a fertility of invention in arranging business to detain him at Madrid. On the 13th of February, he declares from his bed:—"I desire your return, but not immediately; that is to say, not before a thoroughly good intelligence has been restored, to the establishment of which your Excellency has so powerfully contributed. Before this end is attained, I could hardly consent to your return. On the other hand, I should like to have you here, in order to satisfy those people who pretend that we have done nothing, and that the risk of war was purely imaginary! Finally, there are things which I cannot write, and which I do not put in cyphers, because I myself have not time to transpose them, and there are points which I cannot intrust to a third person." This does not argue much for the trustworthiness of the Minister's subordinates.

When this letter reached the Envoy, he had already changed his intention of immediate departure. The Regency had fixed the 17th for the ceremony of investing him with the Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III.; which day was afterwards changed to the 22nd. On the 19th, he was present at a children's ball given by the young Queen Isabella; and, on the 24th, he received a despatch, dated February 19th, in which he was requested to remain at Madrid until the election of a new Regency had taken place. In the meantime, he was to endeavour to obtain payment of the sum of money owing from Spain to Portugal, which had been the subject of the 2nd Article of his original Instructions. Great latitude was allowed as to the form of payment he might accept; and, the only instructions given were, that he should seek the good offices of Mr. Aston. A private letter from Magalhães, accompanying his Official Despatch, seeks, by an appeal to his patriotism, to induce Saldanha to prolong his stay at Madrid.

* A Portuguese expression, implying a polite dismissal.

"The subject of that Despatch," he writes, "is of the greatest importance to us; and it is for that reason I should like your Excellency to bring the affair to a termination; for it would do honour to your Excellency and to the Government, and be of great advantage to the country. I believe the present occasion to be very favourable; and Lord Howard is well disposed towards assisting us. . . . . But, believe me, your personal influence is of the greatest weight in this negotiation; I say so, because I think it; and my belief is founded on acknowledged facts."

By the same post, Saldanha received a letter from our old acquaintance, Reis e Vasconcellos; who, evidently, not in favour with, or favouring, the Ministry, expects, or wishes, for a change; and he assumes, that towards the Marshal all eyes will be turned. He writes, on the 20th of February: "I believe that you ought to remain where you are a few days longer; as I have a reason for supposing that the Ministry will certainly be dissolved ere many days are passed. I may be mistaken: therefore keep this to yourself. At this moment, I have every reason to believe what I say; and, moreover, that you will be called to the Presidency of the new Cabinet. . . . . On one point I am sure; which is, that (should my supposition be correct), whether you accept office or not, you had better decide that point from where you are." If Sr. Reis thought by his letter to excite the ambition of Saldanha, or to induce him to stir up the activity of his friends in Lisbon, and thus to hasten the accomplishment of his prophecy, he was greatly deceived. Saldanha remained at Madrid; and, the more determined was he to do so, by his wish to avoid assisting in that change which Sr. Reis, apparently, was so desirous of seeing.

The debt owing to Portugal arose from the expenses incurred by the Auxiliary Legion, which, to carry out the provisions of the "Quadruple Treaty," that country had, in 1835, sent into Spain to assist its Government against D. Carlos. The liability was frankly acknowledged; but the difficulty was as to the means of payment. Saldanha, in the end, obtained Bills upon Havanna, payable at stated periods, and bearing six per cent. interest. In his despatches, the Marshal lays bare the im-

poverished condition to which Spain had become reduced. In the one dated March 5th, he writes: "With the exception of 50,000 men in the immediate neighbourhood of the Capital, the Army, which has hitherto been always paid to the day, is two months in arrears. The Army of the North, which occupies the Basque Provinces, only received six days' pay in January; and, on the first of the present month, an Aide-de-Camp of General Ribero (who commands that Army), arrived in great haste to announce, that he (the General) had drawn upon the Treasury, at sight, for forty thousand duros. At ten o'clock at night, there was a great meeting held at the Finance Office to decide how this payment was to be effected on the following day; as, if it were not met, the consequences, according to General Ribero, would be serious. No means of obtaining the sum required could be devised; until the Duke de la Vitoria declared, that he himself would advance the forty thousand duros on the following morning, provided the sum were repaid within three weeks.

"It is difficult to imagine the scenes to which this state of the finances has given rise. That which took place last night between the Ministers of Finance, Home, Justice, and Foreign Affairs was of such a description, that it was with great difficulty that the Duke was able to persuade Señor Gamboa not to abandon the Cabinet. Considering this wretched state of the finances; considering the diversity of opinions held by the few men of independence and honesty with regard to the Regency Question;—some wishing for three Regents and others for only one;—each party supporting its opinion by arguments of great weight and importance; considering the activity of the Republicans; the fierce opposition of the '*Moderados;*' and the efforts which both those parties have made to destroy Espartero's influence with the Army; it is absolutely impossible for a man, however keen his foresight, to prognosticate what will be the situation at the end of the coming April.

"Espartero was warned that the sergeants of his regiment of Luchona had joined the patriotic societies. At eleven o'clock at night, he sent one of the officers of his Staff to see whether the sergeants were at their quarters; and he found but four.

The regiment was immediately ordered to quit Madrid; and the societies were dissolved. Sad, very sad, is this picture; and both in the interests of humanity, and for the welfare of my country, as a Portuguese, do I sincerely hope that the Duke de la Vitoria may be able to maintain that influence in the Army, which, up to the present time, he has held."

We must now return, for a while, to the consideration of Saldanha's position with regard to the politics of his own country. The Cabinet, since the opening of the Cortes, had been in an unstable condition. At the close of January, Manoel Gonçalves de Miranda took the Finance Department in the place of Florido Rodrigues Pereira Ferraz; but the situation gained little from the change, as Miranda's health rapidly gave way under the vexations and cares of his office. To prop the Cabinet up a little longer the Portfolio was given to the Baron do Tojal; and Miranda held that of Marine, which he retained until his death on the 5th of April. This partial change was the result of the crisis foretold in the letter written by Reis e Vasconcellos, from which we quoted.

During the fifteen days that preceded the modification which took place in the Cabinet on the 12th of March, its condition had been considered critical by both friends and adversaries: and various were the speculations respecting its successors. On the 2nd of March, Saldanha wrote to Magalhães referring to the rumours afloat as to the situation of the Government, and assuring him that, "it was not possible that he should accept a seat in any Cabinet after having twice refused to become a Member of the Legislative Body." Judging from Magalhães' reply, Saldanha appears to have accused him of a want of sincerity in concealing the real situation of the Government, and of inventing pretexts to keep him (Saldanha) at Madrid. To the first complaint Magalhães replied by asserting, that his Cabinet was not so weak as had been represented: the second he answered, by forwarding Letters of Recall to be made use of at the Envoy's pleasure.

On the 4th of March, Saldanha was informed that the Duke de Palmella had been called upon to form an Administration; and that he had declared that he would not take part in any

one, unless it were presided over by Saldanha. Upon the same day, he wrote to Palmella, and assured him most positively, that, for many reasons, he would not, under present circumstances, accept office.

A modification in the Cabinet gave it a few more weeks of existence; and, when it fell, on the 9th of June, 1841, neither Saldanha nor Palmella (contrary to the general expectation,) was called to office.

At Madrid affairs were becoming more and more complicated, for reasons explained by Saldanha; who found himself, by the high esteem in which he was held by the chief statesmen of all parties, forced to take a more active part in Spanish politics than he had desired.

After lengthened intrigues between the several parties—of Trinitarians, Unitarians, and Moderados,—Espartero was elected sole Regent; and a new Cabinet was formed under the presidency of Don Antonio Gonzalez.

In Portugal the position of the Cabinet was, as we have already stated, very critical; and its approaching dissolution was evident. Miranda had died after a very short period of office. Magalhães, in a letter to Saldanha, announces his death in a few sentences, full of feeling for the loss of his colleague.

"Our unfortunate colleague, Miranda," he writes, "died the day before yesterday; and yesterday he was buried. I was very much affected. His unlucky fate had brought him into the Cabinet in such difficult times. He could not suffer parliamentary reverses with calmness; his heart was not like mine, insensible to, or rather hardened against, the shafts of calumny and of envy. Often I advised him to follow my example; but —good innocent man,—he thought it was impossible for him to bear calmly those things which he perceived that I submitted to." "Ambition should be made of sterner stuff."

The position of Royalty, at this time, was not less onerous than was that of its Ministers. We obtain an insight into the state of affairs in the Palace from a letter of Reis e Vasconcellos to the Marshal. It is dated April 7th.

". . . . Since the nomination of Baron do Tojal, there have been two crises; one arising from that nomination, or rather

from the way in which it was brought about without the approval of the Majority of the Chamber of Deputies; the other caused by the little judgment of those about the Palace who counsel their Majesties. The effects of the first have as yet not entirely subsided; still less those of the second. The Majority, unfortunately, will not again be so large as it has been. The consequences of the second, are, in my opinion, much more serious than those of the first. The Queen insisted upon excluding from the 'Reform Committee' the Count da Taipa, who had been proposed by Palmella; because, in order to have a friend in it, she desired to place D. Manoel de Portugal in his stead. Palmella resigned his seat; and an interview took place between him and the Queen, during which some disagreeable observations were made on the part of both; and, finally, to induce him to accept the Presidency, it was arranged that Count da Taipa should write to him, declaring that he had no desire to be on the said Committee. It was only by this means that the Committee could be formed, with the Members whose names you will see in the public papers. The better to understand this little Comedy, you must know that Palmella, on the eve of the nomination of the Committee, gave the King and Queen to understand the necessity that '*all without exception*' should consent to make some sacrifice to enable us to get through the financial crisis in which we are placed. This declaration, which was perfectly understood by their Majesties, was taken in bad part; and was much commented upon afterwards by the 'Camarilha,' with but little good faith and loyalty.

"But this 'Camarilha' has become an indisputable fact; though I am led to believe many efforts are being made to disguise it. The Government is in great embarrassment for want of money; as the Bank appears to have come to the determination of having no transactions with it. From all this, I infer that our situation is extremely critical; and my opinion still is, that, if you can prolong your stay at Madrid for a few days, it will be the most advisable step you can take. . . . The death of Miranda will increase the difficulties of the Cabinet; as they have to fill his place, which is difficult on account of the number of candidates."

With the formation of the new Spanish Ministry, Saldanha's presence ceased to be necessary at Madrid; and, in his last despatch to Magalhães, dated May the 25th, he announced his immediate departure, and the probability of his arrival at Lisbon upon the 12th or 15th of June. He declares that he leaves in good hands the affair of the Spanish debt to Portugal; and that Señor Gamboa had promised to do his best to promote its settlement. On the 28th, in a private letter, he writes:—"It is impossible to describe the sincere proofs of friendship which I have received from these people. Yesterday, Mr. Aston gave me a farewell dinner to which several *Unitarians* and *Trinitarians* were invited. Mr. Hay, who had been Under-Secretary with the Tories, was there; and, while I was in conversation with him and with Mr. Aston, several Spaniards came up and observed how greatly my absence would be felt; and, that, after Espartero, no one was more esteemed in Madrid than I was."

On the 28th, Saldanha took his leave of the Regent; and shortly afterwards left Madrid. On the 9th of June, he reached Badajoz; and, from that city, wrote to the Marchioness:—"We have just arrived and are all in good health. To-morrow we continue our journey. By various letters I see that the Ministers have requested their dismissal. Thank God Almighty that I was not at Lisbon. My brother, Francisco, is like many others, who, with the best intentions, wish to see me in the Ministry. God preserve me from it!"

We will close this chapter with an extract from Saldanha's last despatch from Madrid. He writes to Magalhães:—

"Although not one of the least courageous of men, there is one impression on my mind which makes me shudder: it is not the memory of sufferings, privations, and fatigues when on marches, or during sieges or emigrations, but it is the recollection of mental sufferings endured every time that I have been a Minister of State. I assure you, that were it possible to increase my repugnance to office, it would be so, by my observation of the treatment of Don Antonio Gonzalez. When I arrived here, it was a much debated question whether it would be more desirable that Don Antonio should be one of the new

Regents, or be appointed President of the Council. From many of the most influential men of the *Moderado* Party, I had constantly heard that Gonzalez was the only one, whom under present circumstances, they would desire to see at the head of the Ministry; as he was the only man with whom they could satisfactorily treat. So late as the day before the election of the Regent, I heard it declared by those who would have been the Regents, if the Regency had been composed of three, that Don Antonio would be President of the Council. The present Regent forces him to accept that position; and yet, from the moment that the man who was wished for by the *Moderados*, anticipated by the *Trinitarians*, and raised to power by the *Unitarians*, comes to preside over the new Administration, *Unitarians*, *Trinitarians*, and *Moderados* point their arrows at him; and, for want of anything worse to say concerning him, call him Don Antonio '*de las Tirillas*,' because he happens to wear collars which project above his cravat."

CHAPTER II.

1841—1845.

Saldanha returns to Portugal—Austria recognises D. Maria II.—Saldanha selected to represent her at Vienna—He arrives at Madrid—At Genoa—Reaches Vienna—Interview with Metternich—Restoration of the Charter in Portugal—The Terceira-Cabral Ministry—Saldanha's audience with the Emperor—He visits Metternich at Kœnigswart—Disturbances in Portugal—Letters from Dietz and Baron de Pernes on the state of the country—Bomfim's revolt—Letter from Dietz—Saldanha receives academic honours—He becomes acquainted with Schelling—He commences his "Concordance"—Letter from Lord W. Russell—Saldanha's reply—Count de Almoster—His character—Project of marriage—His untimely death—Saldanha retires to Brussels—Letters of condolence from the Queen and others.

On Saldanha's return to Portugal, he retired to Cintra, in the hope of enjoying rest after the fatigue and anxiety he had suffered during the two diplomatic missions which he had so successfully terminated. He had now saved his country from war and foreign invasion; as previously from the loss of its colonies.

On the 9th of June, 1841, there was another change of Ministry; and that which had been presided over by the Count do Bomfim, since November, 1839, gave place to one of which J. A. de Aguiar was President. He also held the Home Portfolio; and the other offices were distributed in the following manner:—

Justice	A. B. da Costa Cabral.
Finance	A. J. de Avila.
War	Count de Villa Real.
Marine	Jose Ferreira Pestana.
Foreign . . .	R. da Fonseca Magalhães.

Of the members who formed the new Administration, two

—Cabral and Magalhães—had held office in the preceding one.

Saldanha still retained his fixed determination (formed after the events in 1837) to take no active part in politics; but to support that party alone which he believed to be true to the Queen and Charter.

About this time, the Austrian Government, presided over by Prince Metternich, had declared its intention to formally recognize the Queen, D. Maria, and to renew diplomatic relations with the Court of Lisbon. On the part of Austria, the Baron Marschal was shortly expected to arrive at Lisbon; and it became necessary to appoint an Envoy to represent Portugal at Vienna. The mission was at once offered to Saldanha, as the Queen (by sending one of her most distinguished subjects to represent her) desired to shew a mark of respect towards the Emperor, and her own satisfaction on the occasion.

It was not without regret that a large party of his friends viewed Saldanha's departure. For his support they looked, not only should the country again be menaced by Spanish invasion; but to protect the Sovereign, whose position on her Throne was far from secure. There was already a party in Portugal, which desired the absence of the Queen herself.

The Marquis, together with the Marchioness and family, accompanied also by the author, embarked at Lisbon, on the 18th of October, on board a steamer for Cadiz, where they arrived early in the morning of the 20th. On the same day, Saldanha left that city for Seville, on his road to Madrid.

Some differences having again arisen between the Spanish and Portuguese Governments, it had been deemed desirable that the Marshal should pass through Madrid, on his way to Vienna. In the Instructions, dated October the 9th, which he received from his Government, much stress was laid on the service he might render, owing to the high esteem in which he was held by the Regent Espartero; as well as on the friendly and excellent terms on which he was with public men at Madrid; and especially with Mr. Aston, the British Minister at that Court. He was reminded of the suspicious behaviour of the Spanish Government towards that of Portugal; as well as

of the intrigues which were continually carried on by the Spanish Minister, resident at Lisbon, in concert with the Members of the Opposition, against the Government of her Most Faithful Majesty. The complaints of Spain, on her side, were, that there was much smuggling on the frontier; and it was asserted that Portugal was bound to prevent British and other merchandise from being warehoused there. To this it was replied, that immense quantities of Spanish wheat were smuggled into Portugal, much to the detriment of Portuguese agriculturists; and that it behoved Spain to guard her own frontiers—Portugal hers.

The Envoy was also charged to again demand payment of the expenses incurred by Portugal, when, as we have already related, some 6,000 troops were sent into Spain for the purpose of aiding in driving Don Carlos from that country. Bills, it was true, had been given by the Spanish Government in payment; but not having been met, they had hitherto remained, like so much waste paper, at the Portuguese Legation at Madrid.

Complaints were also to be made of the fraudulent use of the Portuguese flag by ships, principally from Cuba, engaged in the Slave Trade; and he was desired to endeavour to arrange a treaty with Spain for the complete extinction of that traffic. He was further to notify; that the moment for a Convention respecting the navigation of the Tagus, which the Spanish Government was desirous of making, was extremely inopportune, owing to the great opposition which the Douro Treaty had met with in the Portuguese Chambers.

The Portuguese people, as we have already stated, are, in general, and not without reason, decidedly adverse to a union of their country with Spain; and they look with suspicion upon any proceedings of their neighbours which might lead to it. The events of 1840 and 1841 which had led to Saldanha's first mission to Madrid, or had occurred during his stay there, had shewn, beyond a doubt, that Spain was but too anxious to pick a quarrel which might give her a pretext for invading Portugal; and although the Marshal, by his influence and skill, had, at that time, averted the storm, his countrymen retained an

uneasy feeling of insecurity, which made them reluctant to allow him to depart without another effort to restore a good understanding between the two countries. With this view, he was desired carefully to guard against affording the Regent any excuse for the invasion of Portugal; and to endeavour to discover any plots which might be devised at Madrid to effect, by Spanish Agents, the fall of the actual Government at Lisbon. That the Portuguese had reason for their suspicions at this time, may be judged from the fact, that an article had appeared in the *Pensamiento* of the 15th of June, which had pointed out, and enlarged upon the advantages which would accrue to both countries, if united under one monarchy. The author of the article had been appointed Attaché to the Spanish Legation at Lisbon; but Saldanha, shortly after his arrival at Madrid, remonstrated with the Minister on this subject, and the Attaché was removed to the Hague.

The question of the navigation of the Tagus which was referred to in Saldanha's Instructions tended also to keep up this disquietude. We have seen how anxious the Spanish Government had been to create water communications through the country lying between the shores of the Atlantic and those of the Mediterranean; and how inflexibly it had insisted upon the fulfilment of the Treaty for the Free Navigation of the Douro. It now pressed for a similar treaty as regards the Tagus. Saldanha, on his arrival, had to inform his Government that a company, strongly supported by the Regent, was being formed for the purpose of rendering the Guadalquivir navigable to Cordova; and that another was projected for making the Tagus navigable from Aranjuez.

To shew still further how bad was the feeling between the two countries, and the futility of the reasons upon which it was based, we may mention, that one of the complaints made by Señor Gonzalez to Saldanha was, that the assassination of the Regent Espartero had been determined upon by the masonic clubs at Lisbon. The Marshal indignantly expressed his disbelief of the truth of such an assertion; and, to show that, in any case, his Government neither promoted nor connived at such unworthy proceedings, informed the Minister that the Lisbon

Authorities were, at that moment, prosecuting a paper called the "Portugal Velho" for an article written against the Regent of Spain. On the subject of these Clubs, R. da F. Magalhães writes to Saldanha; that, for many years, he himself was annually tried and sentenced in one of them; and that, to make the affair more ridiculous, the form of a trial was preserved by the appointment of one of the Members to undertake his defence. He added, that he felt sure that such furious and mad ideas were never advanced in any assemblies of persons who were adversaries of the Anarchists.

Having satisfactorily executed the principal duties of his Mission, or put them in such train as to enable the Portuguese Resident to bring them to a conclusion, Saldanha, anxious to rejoin his family and reach his post at Vienna, determined upon no longer delaying his journey to that Capital.

He at first proposed leaving Madrid upon the 4th in the "Malle-Poste"; but, in consequence of a despatch which he received from Lisbon, was forced to wait some days longer. He thus, on the 7th, alludes to the results of this delay.

"Very fortunate was it for me. Ten minutes after the 'Poste' had left the gates of the city, it was attacked and the passengers were completely stripped. I should have been seriously inconvenienced; for I have with me all my Orders; and two Collars alone are worth some £500, besides the Cross of Malta which is set in brilliants."

On the 8th, Saldanha had an interview with General Concha, who had remained concealed in Madrid after the failure of the recently attempted revolution, which had led to the execution of Leon, Borso, and other military chiefs. Concha would have suffered the same fate as his comrades, had his place of concealment been discovered; but it was generally imagined that he had escaped into France. At the interview, the General expressed a great desire to endeavour to leave Madrid with Saldanha, in the guise of his servant; but such an attempt was considered, for many reasons, to be impracticable.

Saldanha quitted Madrid on the 9th of December, and arrived at Genoa on the 24th, where he found the Marchioness and his family.

After a pleasant sojourn at that city of about seven weeks, he determined on leaving his wife and children at Genoa until the weather would allow of their pursuing their journey to Vienna. For the winter that year was one of unusual severity; and, if the weather were now assuming a milder aspect at Genoa, the Marchioness reflected that each step towards Vienna would bring her to a more inclement climate, which she much feared to encounter.

On the 12th of February, 1842, we left Genoa; crossed the Apennines during the night; and, having breakfasted at Pavia, and spent an hour at the Chartreuse, arrived at Milan on the following afternoon at five o'clock. The weather was beautiful, although cold, and the snow lay on the ground nearly the whole way. When approaching the Apennines on the previous evening, Saldanha remarked, "I am sure our poor Portuguese servant will be very cold during the night, and we must somehow make room for him inside." At the next stage where we stopped to change horses, the Marshal, with that kindness which always distinguished him, ordered his man to come inside, where there was fortunately a small seat in front. Notwithstanding Saldanha's desire to arrive as soon as possible at his post, he determined on remaining at Milan long enough to see the curiosities of the city, which a stay of two days enabled us to do. Beautiful as he found the Cathedral, he gave the preference to that of Seville.

On the morning of the 16th, we continued our journey; and stopping for an hour to see the antiquities of the town of Brescia, and the beautiful bronze statue of winged Victory, we reached Verona that night. On the 18th of February we arrived at Venice, which, after seeing as much of the city as time would allow, we left on the 20th at noon; and, on the morning of the 24th reached Mürzzuschlag, situated at the south base of the Semmering mountain over which we had to pass. We had hitherto contrived, after leaving Venice, to get on tolerably well without more knowledge of the German language, than what a few weeks' study, and a grammar and dictionary had afforded us. Stopping to breakfast at Mürzzuschlag, and accidentally taking up a German newspaper, we

recognized the words PORTUGAL, REVOLUTION, COSTA CABRAL, CHARTER and some others; but, as there was no one who could interpret for us, we could only make guesses as to the information contained in the article.

Our desire to reach Vienna, was increased by our curiosity to learn what had really occurred in Portugal; and we arrived there on the following day.

Very little authentic information could Saldanha obtain respecting the subject which had so much interested us at Mürzzuschlag, until he had his first interview with Prince Metternich, which took place on the 27th. The Prince received him with the greatest cordiality; saying that although it was the first time he had ever *seen* him, he had known him almost from his infancy. Then, after informing him of all he knew respecting the recent events in Portugal, and learning that Saldanha had now been absent four months from his country, the Prince promised to send him the despatches of the Austrian Envoy at Lisbon, in order that he might become more fully acquainted with that which had taken place during his absence. Three days afterwards, the Prince forwarded to the Marshal a *Morning Chronicle*, accompanied by the following note. It is interesting to observe Prince Metternich, with his Staff of Ambassadors, foreign Agents, and State Couriers, acknowledging that he, on this occasion, drew his most correct information from the letter of "our own correspondent" in an English newspaper:—

"MONSIEUR LE MARÉCHAL,

"J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer la feuille ci-jointe du *Morning Chronicle*, qui renferme le compte le plus précis arrivé jusqu'à cette heure à ma connaissance des évènements survenus à Lisbonne entre le 7 et le 14 Février.

"Je vous prie de me renvoyer cette feuille quand vous en aurez pris connaissance, et d'agréer l'hommage de ma considération très-distinguée.

"METTERNICH.

"VIENNE, *ce* 2 *Mars*, 1842."

Saldanha's first thought on reaching Vienna was to write to the Marchioness the following letter. It shows how an honest

Statesman, as he was, may find himself perplexed by a divided duty in the political changes of his country. The letter was written in English.

"VIENNA, *February 25th*, 1842.

"MY DEAR AND BELOVED WIFE,

"We have arrived quite well, having had the extreme fortune of the most beautiful weather. From sunrise to sunset without one cloud; and from sunset till morning a most beautiful and clear moonlight night without a drop of rain or snow falling; or a breath of air. Although we met snow all the way, I found it so warm, in the middle of the day, that I was obliged to take off my *piloto*, and sit with the carriage windows open. The passage of the Alps is nothing at all by the road I came; as it follows the valleys, so that it is flat with few exceptions. I have been quite disappointed, however, not finding any letters from Genoa. I will go again to the Post to seek for them a second time. What do you think of the affairs in Portugal? According to a paragraph which I have just read, the Charter has been proclaimed throughout the whole kingdom.* May the Lord permit that it may be for our children and grandchildren; and that revolutions are now come to an end! Very happy and very thankful to God must we be, that I was not in Portugal; because, although I cannot but feel delighted, really delighted, at the restoration of the Charter—the symbol of my glorious achievements in favour of Liberty and Royalty,—yet I would not, I could not, have showed myself; for I had taken my oath to the Constitution of 1838. Therefore, my good friend, rejoice with your fond husband, and with him and your children thank the Lord for all His goodness. . . . . God bless you all.

"Yours,

"SALDANHA."

The change of affairs in Portugal had been brought about as follows:—

Sr. A. B. da Costa Cabral, who, as Minister of Justice, had

* The monarchical Charter of 1826, the establishment of which was the great object of Saldanha's political career.

entered the Administration formed by the Count do Bomfim in November, 1839; and who had continued to hold the same Portfolio when Bomfim retired in June, 1841, had not only become dissatisfied with the conduct and principles of his colleagues, but had determined to attempt the restoration of the Charter of 1826. Having considerable influence in Oporto, he went there in January, 1842; and, on the 27th, the Charter was proclaimed in that city without difficulty. On the 7th of the following month, the example set at Oporto was followed at Lisbon, and the Charter shortly became, once more, the law of the land.

The Nation applauded, or, at least, quietly accepted the change of *régime* so successfully effected. On the day when the Charter was proclaimed at Lisbon, a new Administration was formed by the Duke de Palmella. This was of but two days' duration; for, on the 9th, the Queen called to her Councils the Duke da Terceira, who, at once, took the Presidency of a Ministry, in which Sr. Costa Cabral, on the 24th, was appointed to the Home Office.

The accession of this Ministry to power, was made known on the 6th of March to Saldanha, at Vienna, by his old friend, colleague, and brother in arms, Terceira, who continued for some months to hold the Portfolio both of War and Foreign Affairs, in the Cabinet over which he presided.

The news of this fortunate restoration of the Monarchical Constitution of 1826, not only was hailed with satisfaction by himself; but (as we learn from a despatch to his Government), Prince Metternich was no less pleased; as it afforded, he hoped, a guarantee against the further spread of revolutionary principles in Portugal.

The restored Charter was acknowledged and sworn to by the Queen and by all the Portuguese Officials, both at home and abroad. This left no alternative to Saldanha. Accordingly, the following declaration was made by himself and his secretary at the Legation of Vienna:—

"We, the undersigned, most cordially renew the oath which we formerly took to the Constitutional Charter of the Monarchy,

now so happily restored, submitting ourselves to it by every means in our power.

"MARQUEZ DE SALDANHA.
"J. DE ROBOREDO.

"LEGATION OF H. M. F. M. AT VIENNA,
"*March 8th*, 1842."

Returning to the period of Saldanha's arrival at Vienna, we note that on the 3rd of March, he had his first audience with the Emperor. No one else was present. Saldanha found his Majesty tolerably well-informed with respect to the state of affairs both in Spain and Portugal.

The Emperor assured him, that he considered the nomination by the Queen of so distinguished a person as the Marshal Saldanha to represent her on this occasion, as a proof of the high esteem which her Majesty entertained towards himself.

The Marchioness de Saldanha with her family, rejoined the Marshal at Vienna on the 5th of June. The Count de Almoster was already attached to the Legation; and, at a subsequent period, his younger brother João Carlos, was appointed an attaché at the Court of Berlin, with permission to serve at Vienna.

It is unnecessary to describe the quiet life which Saldanha led during the period he remained at the Austrian Capital. The author of these pages continued a guest at the Legation during the winter season of 1841—1842—1843; and he well remembers the marked distinction with which the Marshal was received at that aristocratic Court, where his liberal opinions might not have procured him so favourable a reception, had not his high personal character ensured him the esteem of all those with whom he came in contact.

The author does not doubt, but that he could render the pages of this biography more interesting to the general reader, if he were to insert here the thousand anecdotes picked up amidst the society which he had the good fortune to enjoy at this gay and agreeable Capital. Many of those anecdotes were carefully noted in his Diary; and they recall to his memory the "Chronique Scandaleuse" of those days, which, with all due

respect to the Corps Diplomatique, is ever most faithfully interchanged between the members of that body. The despatches addressed by Saldanha to his Government might also be read with interest at this day; containing, as they necessarily do, a narrative of the passing political events which came to the Envoy's knowledge, respecting not only Austria, but also Russia, Italy, Germany, Turkey, and the Principalities under her dominion. At some future day should these despatches be published, they may help to throw light on events which will then have become matters of past history. It is by the examination of such impartial records that future historians will be less liable to incur the comment which Prince Metternich made upon the writings of M. Thiers, when reading that author's "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," which recorded events, in which the Prince had been so greatly concerned. "Que lisez-vous, mon Prince?" said Saldanha to Metternich, one day as he entered the Prince's study and found him reading: "Je lis des romans," was the reply, as the Prince put down the volume, which Saldanha at a glance saw was the above-mentioned work of the French Historian.

With that mental energy which always characterized the Marshal, no sooner had he accepted the mission to Vienna, than he determined to acquire a knowledge of the German language. On arriving at his post, he most diligently commenced his studies. Having made himself tolerably acquainted with a play, which at that time was repeatedly performed at Vienna, "Eine Fessel," he determined on being present on the first occasion of its being given. The author of these pages accompanied him to the theatre. Having taken places in a front row of the stalls, with a view of being able thoroughly to hear and appreciate the performance, we awaited the commencement. On entering the house, the author had observed an announcement that the comedy for that evening had been replaced by another; and this information he maliciously kept to himself. The curtain rose, and Saldanha remained for a considerable time with his attention absorbed in what was going forward; until turning round to his companion, who was watching his countenance, he exhibited a mute look of most complete despair.

"What are you smiling at?" said Saldanha. Being informed that he was not listening to the play which had been the subject of his preliminary study, he laughed heartily; and was satisfied that there was still hope of his acquiring the German language.

An extract from a despatch dated July 12th, 1842, and addressed by Saldanha to the easy-going Duke da Terceira, then Minister of Foreign Affairs at Lisbon, we insert, as a curious instance of how the business of the public offices was carried on, at this time, in Portugal. "To the continual questions asked by my colleagues as to the affairs of my country, I am always obliged to give the same reply; and that is, that I know nothing. The complete ignorance in which the Government of her Majesty keeps its representatives abroad, is so much the more remarkable, as it is well-known with what care the Governments of the Great Powers keep their diplomatic Agents informed of the situation of affairs in other countries. Not only in Madrid did I often read the despatches from Lord Howard de Walden to Lord Palmerston, but, even here in Vienna, I have read the despatches of Lord Howard to Lord Aberdeen sent by copy to Sir Robert Gordon. It is exceedingly disagreeable, and it places one in an awkward position, to be obliged to confess the complete ignorance in which I am, respecting the affairs of my own country; and I assure your Excellency that our situation with respect to Spain, the commercial treaties, those respecting the slave trade, and the negotiations with the Court of Rome, have been the source of many unpleasant moments to myself. I do not desire to be acquainted with Cabinet secrets; but I cannot avoid requesting that your Excellency (both for the credit of the Portuguese Government, and for the support of my position with my colleagues) will order that such timely communications shall be made to me, that I may not appear ignorant of those affairs which are already known to other Ministers, and which are even published in the German and English newspapers."

While the Foreign Secretary at Lisbon was so careless in affording that information to Saldanha which his diplomatic position necessarily required, he himself thought proper to

complain of the Envoy withholding certain secret information which, under peculiar circumstances, had been confided to him. In reply to the Duke da Terceira's reserved despatch on that subject, Saldanha wrote as follows:—

"ILL^mo E EX^mo SENHOR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the confidential despatch, No. 8, which your Excellency addressed to me, and in which your Excellency says, that I ought to lay aside all idea of my being compromised by communicating to her Majesty's Government information I might become possessed of; because no one could censure me for having, in this respect, fulfilled the chief duty of a diplomatic Minister. Thanking your Excellency for the lesson, I beg permission to declare my dissent from this mode of regarding the question. Such information as is obtained in conversation amongst diplomatists, which is often earlier than that which we acquire from the newspapers, may, without fear of compromising oneself, be communicated by the ordinary post; and I agree that a diplomatist, without fear of censure, may frankly communicate to his Government every information which he may thus obtain. But in very different circumstances does a Minister, at times, find himself, who has obtained the confidence of the Government to which he is accredited, or that of some of his colleagues. Let us suppose, for instance, that something has arisen which threatens a quarrel between Russia and England; and that (the latter power having communicated the affair to the Governments of France and Austria), negotiations are going on at Vienna, where no members of the Corps Diplomatique, except those of France and England, know the reason of such continual arrivals and departures of couriers. Let us then suppose, that the Prince Metternich, or one of the two Ambassadors, confiding in my honesty, and with a too flattering appreciation of my ability, communicates the state of affairs to me, with the view of asking my opinion. Would any one fail to censure me, if I were so thoughtless as to communicate to my Government, by the ordinary post, (for I have not the use of cyphers), the confidential communications which I had received;

feeling convinced that my despatches would, or might be, opened in Austria, in France, or in England; and that those Governments would thus learn, that the secret had been confided to one unconnected with the question? Would it not be ascertained how this had happened; and should I not expose myself to reproaches from the person who had made the communication to me? It appears to me, that the case supposed as possible, puts beyond a doubt that the fear I expressed in my confidential despatch, No. 8, does not proceed from my being unaware of the first duty of a diplomatic Minister.

"I will not conclude without repeating, for the *fifth* time, that, by order of Sr. Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, I left with the Chevalier Lima, at Madrid, the book of cyphers which I had received from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"VIENNA, *15th of August*, 1842.
"TO H. E. THE DUKE DA TERCEIRA."

On the 23rd of September, the Duke da Terceira, President of the Ministry, resigned the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs to Sr. José Joaquim Gomes de Castro.

Saldanha was, at this time, much interested in a Memoir of his great ancestor, the Marquis de Pombal; and evinced a natural and lively desire that his character should appear in its true light. The author of this biography, after his arrival at Lisbon, in 1835, had learned to venerate this great, good, and extraordinary man; described, with truth, "as the regenerator of his country which he found in ruins, and left a monument of his greatness." Desirous of obtaining particulars of the life of so illustrious a Statesman, he sought for information in the various accounts which had hitherto been published respecting that Minister, and of an Administration which had extended over so long a period as twenty-seven years. He soon became convinced that the Marquis de Pombal had been maliciously calumniated by those whom he had found it necessary to punish for their crimes; and that such men, after the fall of the Minister, (at the death of his Sovereign), had invented every kind of falsehood to exculpate themselves, and to misrepresent the motives, the actions, and the character of Pombal.

He, therefore, had employed much time, between the year 1835 and the period at which we have arrived in this biography, in examining those documents which could be depended upon to throw light on the life and Administration of the great Minister; and the result proved to his satisfaction that the laudatory epitaph which had been inscribed upon his tomb contained no misplaced encomium. But it is remarkable, that, even to the present day, there are certain Portuguese who either from ignorance, or from peculiar views of their own, love to rake up all the calumnious attacks which were made on the great Minister by his contemporaries in foreign countries, when some represented him as a despot who would enchain the human mind—others as a wild reformer who would unsettle all received opinions.

The persecuting Government of a maniac Queen, successor to D. José, ordered the inscription referred to, to be erased; and the bronze bust, which had been placed on the pedestal of the fine equestrian statue in the Black Horse Square, to be destroyed.*

The author having, in the early part of the year 1843, determined on the publication of the Memoir he had prepared, left Vienna for London. On this occasion, he recollects the slight encouragement he received from a well-known Portuguese resident in England, when about to publish the first edition of his biography of Pombal. This gentleman, Sr. C. P. de Carvalho, frankly said to him, "No Portuguese will read your book." How far this prophecy has been contradicted by the publication of a second English edition, and a translation into Portuguese, the author will not pretend to say. But he gratefully observes, as a denial to the far from encouraging foreboding of Sr. Carvalho, that her Majesty the late Queen D. Maria II. was pleased to confer on him, as Author of the Biography, the rank of Commander in the Order of Christ; and that the present Sovereign of Portugal, so well known for his love and appreciation of English literature, has honoured him with the title of Count.

* See Vol. I., page 345.

If, as Saldanha truly remarked, "the reputation of its great men is one of the most precious possessions of a country," it may be added that the character of Saldanha himself now belongs to posterity. It has become the privilege of the author of this biography to pay an humble tribute to his memory; and if it be objected that, in the first instance, such privilege belongs to the Marshal's countrymen, it may be answered by what Pericles said of illustrious men: "All earth is their tomb, and their names are not merely graven on the sepulchral marble among their own kindred, but stored up for ever in the unwritten register of the memory in other lands." During his lifetime his virtues and merits were no less recognized by foreign nations than by his own countrymen. In all the leading States of Europe, Saldanha was honoured by their Sovereigns with the Insignia of their highest Orders; and by their Generals and Statesmen with evidences of their admiration and esteem. An instance occurred during his diplomatic Mission at Vienna, the recollection of which led the author to the above remarks. On the 17th of June, the reigning Duke of Saxe Coburg (father of the Prince Consort of England) arrived at Vienna on his way south. His Royal Highness having made known to his brother, the Duke Ferdinand, that he was very desirous to become acquainted with the Marshal Saldanha; and that his stay at Vienna would be but for a few hours; the Duke Ferdinand was pleased to invite the Marshal to meet his Highness at an early dinner, and requested him to come a little before the hour fixed. His Royal Highness expressed great pleasure at seeing one who had done so much for a country, in which he himself took great interest; and he assured the Marshal that he had made a *détour* in his journey solely for the purpose of making his acquaintance, and to have the pleasure of presenting him with the Insignia of the Grand Cross of the Military Order of Ernest, which he had brought with him for that purpose.

In August of this year (1843), Saldanha visited Metternich at his princely residence of Königswart, and remained there some days. The Marshal describes the state and ceremony kept up at this place as being little less than regal. He

met there many Princes and Princesses of the reigning German Houses; diplomatists from all parts of Europe were constantly arriving and departing; and the guests at table were never less than 36. On this occasion the Prince expressed his desire of seeing the Queen Isabella of Spain married to the eldest son of D. Carlos, as the best means of restoring tranquillity to that country. Saldanha observed from his conversations with Metternich, how greatly the Prince prided himself on having been instrumental in preserving peace in Europe during 25 years.

Reports of discontent and disturbances in Portugal were continually reaching Saldanha after his return to Vienna; to which it would be unnecessary to allude, were it not that the reader may be prepared for the occurrences which took place in that country at a later period.

The question of the Spanish marriage, now—the end of 1843—much occupied diplomatic minds. At one time, it was proposed that the husband to be selected for the young Queen Isabella should be the Count de Trapani: at another, the Prince of Lucca. Metternich imagined that the future tranquillity of Spain would be assured by a marriage between Isabella and the son of D. Carlos. But Saldanha, perceiving that the Prince was in complete ignorance of the real state of affairs, of political parties, and of public opinion in Spain, recommended him to send secret agents to that country,—and at different periods,—in order that he might by their means obtain correct information. He warned him, however, of the necessity of selecting men who would not arrive there with already formed opinions; nor such as would only see with the eyes of those who sent them, or would report such information only as they knew would be acceptable. Saldanha assured the Prince, that any attempt to arrange a marriage between the Queen and the son of D. Carlos would only prolong the unhappy condition in which Spain then was.

A pleasant story was current at Vienna during our stay there. Shortly after the arrival of the Count de Flahault, to represent at the Austrian Court his Sovereign Louis Philippe, whose recognition by the Emperor had been long delayed, he was, on one occasion, seated by the side of the still young and

handsome wife of Prince Metternich. Remarking the great beauty of the brilliants which ornamented her brow, the Count observed: "Princesse, vous avez une belle couronne." "Oui," replied the Princess, "et je l'estime davantage, puisqu'elle n'a pas été volée." The Ambassador made no reply to this innuendo respecting the mode by which his Sovereign had become possessed of the Crown he wore; but, seeking an opportunity of speaking to the Prince, he declared that he had been intentionally insulted by the Princess. Metternich calmly replied: "Mon cher Ambassadeur, je vous l'avoue; ma femme est la femme le plus mal élevée du monde. Mais je vous assure, que ce n'est pas moi qui a fait son éducation."

The year 1844 commenced with continued reports of disturbances in Portugal. On the 26th of February, an account of what had taken place reached Vienna in a letter from M. Dietz to the Marshal, dated February the 12th.

"Nous avons une autre révolution militaire, qui, cependant, je l'espère, bientôt sera étouffée. Consolez la famille du Roi* avec le fait que tout le pays est tranquille; *même dans la plus parfaite tranquillité;* et que tout le monde est profondement indigné de l'attentat d'une poignée de méchants, qui, pour satisfaire leur insatiable ambition, ne hésitent pas un instant de jeter leur patrie dans la plus profonde misère. Jamais l'armée n'avait moins de motif d'être mécontente; n'était jamais mieux payée; ni mieux traitée que par ce Ministère."

Of this same revolt, Baron de Pernes writes to Saldanha on the 21st, and describes it as "at first led by the hero Cesar de Vasconcellos, and now by the Count do Bomfim, who, at length, it appears to me, will come to the *mau fim* (bad end), which his character and ingratitude have so long deserved. . . . . This famous revolt was prepared two years ago, with such ramifications throughout the country, that its plotters deemed failure impossible! Happily, timely measures have been taken; and it is to be hoped, that the Government will continue to take those which have become indispensable, in order that the revolutionists may lose their hope of keeping the

* The Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg, parents of H. M. the King Consort of Portugal.

country in perpetual disquietude. . . . . To-day the Chambers open." The revolt was not put down immediately; for, on the 27th of March, M. Dietz again writes to Saldanha: "Tout le pays est tranquille, et déteste (à l'exception de quelques fous et coquins) la révolution qui végète à Almeida."

On this occasion, Metternich observed to Saldanha, that in so small an army as that of Portugal, nothing would be more easy than for the Government to become acquainted with the opinions of all the officers, and to dismiss all those who were likely to be plotting revolutions; and that he well knew, by the despatches which he received from Baron Marschal, that there were many restless, turbulent, and ambitious officers in the army.

This revolt, which M. Dietz describes as "vegetating" at Almeida, and which was headed by the restless Count do Bomfim in that fortified city, was finally suppressed on the 29th of March, when Almeida surrendered; and Bomfim, with some other officers who had joined the revolt, fled into Spain.

M. Dietz continued to inform Saldanha of what he calls the intrigues which were going on at Lisbon; and we may presume from the extract we give from his letter of the 25th of August, 1844, that the Cabinet enjoyed the full confidence of the Queen. He writes:

"Le Duc de Palmella et Silva Carvalho y sont fortement compromis; et si leurs intrigues n'avaient pas échoué à la fermeté de S. M. la Reine, et au bon sens de la nation, nous serions déjà sans doute sur le chemin de livrer le pouvoir aux Setembrists, et, en peu de temps, de le remettre entre les mains de Bomfim, Cesar Vasconcellos et Comp^e. Mais heureusement la crise est passée. Les intrigues de ces hommes écervelés, au lieu de renverser le ministère, lui ont donné plus de force qu'il n'a jamais eu; et lui ont assuré une très-grande majorité dans la Chambre en faveur de ces mêmes décrets."*

We may observe, that during Saldanha's absence from his country, in 1837-8-9, he not only continued to inform himself on all subjects connected with agriculture, but he devoted a considerable portion of his time to the study of Geology. The

* The Laws of August 1st to which we shall hereafter refer, as they led to a Revolution, and the fall of the Terceira-Thomar Ministry.

reputation he had acquired in connection with this science, and with literature in general, gained for him at different periods various Academic honours. We extract a list of some of them from a recent French publication.

"Membre émérite et ex-Vice Président de l'Académie royale des sciences de Lisbonne;—Membre de la Société géologique de France,—de la Société de minéralogie et de géognosie du grand-duché de Saxe,—de l'Académie des sciences et belles-lettres d'Anvers,—de l'Institut historico-géographique du Brésil,—de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique,—de la Société française de statistique universelle (décoré d'une Médaille d'or par cette Société);—Promoteur honoraire de l'Académie des Quirites de Rome;—Membre correspondant des Académies tibérine, d'archéologie, des Nuovi Lincei, et des Arcades, etc."

Immediately on his arrival at Vienna, as we have seen, Saldanha had commenced the study of the German language, which he continued to pursue with untiring diligence. These studies not only made him acquainted with the works of the poets, and with the general literature of Germany, but they led him to dive deep into the mysterious abyss of German philosophy, and to seek to become acquainted with their strange, may we say, unintelligible Metaphysics.

From a critic, Saldanha became an author; and he commenced a voluminous work on the "Concordance of Geology with the Book of Genesis," an extract from which, in 1845, he ordered to be printed for circulation amongst his friends. This extract led to an acquaintance, whilst at Carlsbad, between Saldanha and the philosopher Schelling.

Meeting at this time at Carlsbad his old friend Lord William Russell, who had formerly been British Ambassador at Lisbon, Saldanha sent him the printed extract we have just mentioned; and the following correspondence took place between them:—

"CARLSBAD.

"MY DEAR MARQUESS,

"Many thanks for your little book, which makes me desirous to read the great book from which it is extracted. As

your mind is turned to the new ideas on philosophy, and discoveries in Nature, I send you the review of an anonymous work that appeared in London last winter, and ran through four editions in a short time; more from the subject being new to the English, than from any merit of its own; for the English are very backward in their knowledge of the Phenomena of Nature; indeed not more advanced than Voltaire was, when he thought the shells found on the Alps had been dropped by the Pilgrims. I only received the review yesterday, and have not yet read it; it is written by Sedgwick.

"If many of those friends are left in Portugal with whom I formerly conversed, your book will astonish them; but it is an act of patriotism on your part to enlighten their minds, and keep them up to the progress of the age, which shines in Germany more than elsewhere; and you may keep them from the rock we split on in England, that of giving up all our thoughts to Politics, and leaving Science neglected. Portugal is still young enough to have her ways directed by the leading men of the country, of which you are one of the most distinguished.

"Sincerely yours,

"WM. RUSSELL."

Saldanha's reply was as follows:—

"SATURDAY, 13*th*, 1845.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Many thanks for your kind note, and for the immense satisfaction I have felt in reading the profound and admirable article of Professor Sedgwick. I was just going out with the Marchioness, when I received your note with the Review. A few minutes afterwards we met Lady William, and I told her Ladyship that the 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation' was the most detestable book I knew; and, so much the worse, because it was written in a very fascinating manner. My bookseller had sent it to me about four months ago; and I was quite indignant when I read it. Sedgwick brings it to its proper light; and I am sure his article will do an immense deal of good; notwithstanding, I fear the book will produce great mischief to those who wish to give themselves

up to their passions. To those who place the senses over the mind, it is certainly very convenient to put out of the question a Supreme Being, who, infinitely just, will call us to account for the use we shall have made of our free will.—I think it would be a charitable action to have Sedgwick's article printed separately, and distributed gratis to all the possessors of the 'Vestiges.'

"This book and its rapid sale are evident proofs of the great defect of our age; I mean superficiality; not to mention the author's bad faith, who establishes falsehood for truth, and blinks or leaps over facts acquired to science, whenever it is convenient to his purpose.

"Most sincerely yours,

"SALDANHA.

"P.S.—As soon as my work on the 'Philosophy of Schelling' is printed, I shall do myself the pleasure of sending you a copy."

And now a great blow fell upon Saldanha, which truly required all his courage as a soldier, and all his resignation as a Christian, to support. His eldest son, the Count de Almoster, then in his 24th year, had, from his earliest youth, given promise of no common ability. He had served with his father as an attaché to the special Mission at Madrid in 1840–1, and now acted in the same capacity at Vienna. His gentle manners, his elevated thoughts, his candour and truthfulness, his high moral character, and his unfeigned, but unostentatious, religion, had rendered him beloved by all his friends, amongst whom, not the least admiring and attached, was the author of these pages.

During the previous year, he had set his affections upon a young lady at Vienna, the only daughter of the wealthy Baron Dietrich; and he became, in due time, her accepted lover, with the approbation and consent of the parents of both. So much interest for the happiness of the Count de Almoster was felt by all who knew him, that even his Majesty D. Fernando, the King Consort, wrote from Lisbon to congratulate Saldanha on so advantageous a marriage for "ce cher Conde de Almoster."

"Certainly," adds his Majesty, "no one will rejoice more sincerely than I shall, if this project is realized; for I know so well how to appreciate the excellent qualities of your son, and, as you are aware, I have always esteemed him. I am firmly persuaded that it is impossible to desire a better husband for the young Baronne Dietrich. Be sure that I await, with impatience and the most heartfelt interest, a confirmation from you of the report I have heard."

The young people daily became more attached to each other. But, "The course of true love never did run smooth." An unexpected obstacle presented itself, which had not been supposed possible by the Baron Dietrich, nor anticipated by Almoster or his father. The young lady was an only daughter; and her fortune would be of vast amount. The sole condition which the Baron insisted upon, was that the Count de Almoster should resign his nationality, and become an Austrian subject. With this condition, Almoster unhesitatingly declared that he could never comply. He loved his country too well; and, probably, he believed that he was destined to render services to Portugal and to hold a position there, to which he could never aspire in a foreign land. Under these circumstances, he felt that he had but one course to follow; and he ceased to visit at the Baron's house.

On the 8th of August, 1845, Saldanha left Vienna with his family for Carlsbad in Bohemia, where they had passed the preceding summer. The author did not accompany them. On the 4th of October, Saldanha wrote to him from Carlsbad, as follows. He wrote in English.

"John * is in bed since yesterday with the smallpox. Both he and Ninie † are doing as well as can be wished in their circumstances. I hope Augustus ‡ will escape it. So we have at least ten days more at Carlsbad." On the following day, he writes: "Eugenia is already out of bed. Johnny had a good night, and is going on very well. Poor fellow. On the forehead alone he has sixty *bexigas*. What is a *bexiga* in English?"

* Saldanha's second son.

† Eugenia. Saldanha's only daughter.

‡ The Count de Almoster.

On the 24th, Saldanha wrote again in a few hurried lines: "Que a vontade de Deos seja feita (Let the Will of God be done). Augustus is no more. You may imagine my situation. The poor mother knows it not, for she had changed the day before to another house. Scarlatina after smallpox. I do not know if the Marchioness will like to return to Vienna. Adieu.

"Yours,

"SALDANHA.

"To-morrow or next day I will tell you more about us."

Not to dwell on this painful subject, which recalls to the author so many sad recollections, he simply adds that the melancholy event was never afterwards spoken of by the unhappy father, without a deep sigh. Saldanha never returned to Vienna. He left the fatal spot as soon as possible; and directed his steps to Brussels, where the author followed him, and where they passed the winter.

Shortly after arriving at Brussels, Saldanha, on the 14th of November, after requesting leave of absence from his post, writes as follows to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Lisbon:

"On the 24th of October, Divine Providence was pleased to inflict a terrible blow upon my family. My beloved son, the Count de Almoster, died on that day at 35 minutes past 12. Were it not for the succours of religion, I and my poor wife must have succumbed to so great a loss—a loss which is not only ours, but is one to his country and to the world in which he lived. Supreme judgments of God! Notwithstanding I bow down to them with resignation, I feel the impossibility of returning to work for some time to come; and, besides, it would be cruel to abandon my wife in such circumstances; and a crime to take my family to Vienna. . . . . Never did a father lose a better son—never did a man lose so good a friend as so lately has

"Your sorrowful colleague and friend,

"SALDANHA."

Innumerable were the sympathizing letters which Saldanha

received on the sad occasion. The Queen herself wrote to the Marchioness; and Sr. D. Fernando sent a kind letter of condolence to the Marshal. Letters arrived daily from relations and friends—from the Ministers and Members of the Diplomatic Corps—from Generals and officers of all ranks in the army—from members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies of every political opinion—all seemed desirous of lessening the weight of his affliction, as much as possible, by their kind condolence.

CHAPTER III.

1845—1846.

Saldanha at Brussels—Changes in Portugal—Opinion of Dietz—Conduct of Palmella—Private letter describing state of affairs—Saldanha desires another Legation—He is offered Rio—Letter from Reis urging him to return—Numerous letters to same effect—Laws during Thomar's Ministry—Their unpopularity—A revolution—Palmella's Ministry—Saldanha offered Foreign Office—Terceira resigns—Thomar escapes to Cadiz—Saldanha declines to enter the new Cabinet—He is urged to return—Disturbed state of the country—Great excitement at Lisbon respecting his intentions—"High Personages" request him to come—Letters from Saldanha to the Author—He decides to go to Portugal.

SALDANHA passed the winter of 1845–6 with his family at Brussels. He had determined on relinquishing his post at Vienna, where so many painful recollections of the past would continually arise; but he had no desire, at this time, to return to his own country, where he knew that he should find many who would seek to persuade him to take a part in political strife—an occupation which he now, more than ever, was averse to.

Great had been the changes in Portugal during his long absence. The Constitution of 1838, had been set aside; and that of 1826, the Charter of D. Pedro, (Saldanha's beau-ideal of monarchical institutions), had been once more restored.

We have seen in how unexpected a manner, Sr. Costa Cabral,* who in 1837, was united with Bomfim to oppose the restoration of the Charter of 1826, had, in the beginning of 1842, boldly proclaimed that Charter at Oporto; and how, without bloodshed or disturbance, it had again become the law of the country.

* On the 8th of September, 1845, he was created Count de Thomar.

The Count de Thomar, serving in that Administration over which, since the 9th of February, 1842, the Duke da Terceira had presided, continued to enjoy the confidence of his Sovereign, in spite of the unpopularity of some of his acts. His conduct, in 1842, had estranged from him the entire party with whom he had previously been politically associated; and the number of the discontented was swelled by his personal enemies, and by many who, though at one time staunch supporters of the Charter, were now either adverse to it, or, at least, opposed to the measures of the Terceira Ministry, of which the Count de Thomar was so important a member. Amongst these was the Duke de Palmella, who from his high position and personal connections, as well as by the office he held, as President of the Chamber of Peers, had considerable influence. The Marquis de Saldanha, content to see the safety of the Throne assured, and the Constitutional Charter restored, was, on the contrary, satisfied with the changes which had been brought about during his absence; and he suffered no personal considerations to have weight with him.

Reports had reached the Marshal at Brussels, that it was the intention of Palmella, on the opening of the Chambers on the 2nd of January, to send in his resignation, as President of the House of Peers; in the hope, as Saldanha was privately informed, of giving "a fatal blow to the Ministry; or, at least, to Costa Cabral."

This step was not taken by the Duke. M. Dietz, writing to Saldanha on the 7th of February, after dwelling upon the unsatisfactory state of affairs at Lisbon, and begging him not to abandon himself so much to grief, but to take care of his health,—which he adds, is "également précieuse à votre famille, à la Reine, et à la Patrie,"—affirms that the Government is strong; and that it "peut bien se passer de l'appui du Duc de Palmella, qui, avec quelques membres de la haute aristocratie, fait une opposition inconvénante à sa place, à sa position, à sa réputation, et à son age."

It appears that, on the previous day, Palmella had made some strong observations in the House of Peers; declaring hat the Chamber of Deputies was a Chamber elected by

Portaria,* and composed entirely of *employés* of the Government; and, consequently, appeared more like a *tribunal de consulta* than a legislative body. Shortly afterwards, when the discussion took place on the Speech from the Throne, the Government had a majority of 91 votes against 6. It was the duty of Palmella, as President, to head the deputation which presented the reply. But he excused himself; and his place was supplied by the Vice-President, the Count de Villa Real. When Palmella, on the day following, went to the Palace to apologize for his absence, it is said that the Queen expressed great displeasure at his conduct; and frankly told him, that, if his being in opposition prevented him from executing the duties of President, it were better he ceased to hold that appointment. Palmella, at once, avowed that his object had been to show his disapproval of a Government, which had made laws immediately before the opening of the Chambers for the purpose of making it apparent that their majority was composed of slaves, who were ready to sanction every measure; and, as he did not wish to appear one of such, he had declined appearing.†

Saldanha was kept tolerably well informed of what was going forward at Lisbon. Having expressed a desire to be removed from his post at Vienna, either to Paris or Madrid,—compliance with which was delayed,—one of his correspondents cautions him, that Sr. Castro "was playing a double part;" because that Minister wished to oblige Baron Renduffe, who had obtained nine Grand Crosses for him from various countries; and who, in return, had begged for himself the appointment to the Mission at Madrid. The same correspondent adds, that Terceira, although Premier, had lost all influence at the Palace; that Silva Carvalho had made his peace with the Government; and that Barreto Ferraz was in opposition merely because he had been refused the title of Viscount.

The accounts which Saldanha continued to receive, at Brussels, of the state of his country, gave indications of a

* Portarias are orders emanating from each Secretary of State in his own Department, and have the force of law.

† There was probably much truth in this complaint. But we fear that this despotic mode of legislation has not been discontinued, even yet, in constitutional Portugal.

coming storm; and increased his desire to remain where he then was, until such time as measures could be taken for arranging his transfer to some other Court. The Legation at Rio de Janeiro was offered to him, and to this he was not entirely averse, having been in former years so well acquainted with the country, and with the people.

The following extracts from letters he at this time received from his friends, will make the reader better acquainted with the political condition of Portugal, than any narrative which the author could present.

Sr. Reis e Vasconcellos, under the impression that the arrival of Saldanha would not be long delayed, writes to him on the 9th of March:—

"Your Excellency will be set upon by all parties, and will come in the midst of a conjuncture in which you cannot help taking an active part. You will decide as you think best; but do not do so without hearing certain persons, and amongst them myself. I beg your Excellency, during the first two days after your arrival at Lisbon, to make known to no one, not even to the Sovereign, nor to any of your adherents, that your intentions are other than to be quiet, and to remain for some time a stranger to every kind of public, or even parliamentary, life. It is my opinion, that your Excellency may yet have to save the Queen from being driven from the country; (a ser posta pela barra fora); thus rendering a most important service to the nation, and placing yourself in the position to which your own name, and that which you have inherited, entitle you. I assure you of this from my very heart. I feel convinced that for your Excellency to be induced to perform the most brilliant act of your life, already so highly glorious, it is only necessary that you should be made truly aware of the real circumstances in which we are placed, to enable you not to neglect seizing the favourable moment. This letter is forwarded through Lord Howard, who, however, is not acquainted with its contents, of which I have only given a few brief hints to the Duke de Palmella. "Your Excellency's etc., etc.,

"J. J. DOS REIS E VASCONCELLOS."

If this correspondent prudently sent his letter through Lord Howard; another declares that he sends his "*with safety*, because it goes by the hands of the attaché appointed to Vienna, M. J. Martins Dantas*—a young man of excellent qualities, very well informed, and of no ordinary capacity"; adding, "his father, to whom I am sincerely attached, (for he is one of the most honest men I ever knew), has begged me to recommend him to you most strongly." The recommendation was scarcely necessary. Saldanha expressed himself to the author on this occasion, that he had no better friend, nor knew a man more honourable than Sr. Dantas. The same writer adds: "The political influence of the Marshal is much coveted, at this moment, by all political factions. * * * * * May God inspire you to come out gloriously from a strife in which you have to resist the exaggerated views of some, and the ambitious views of all."

The Count de Thomar had already held the important Portfolio of the Home Office for more than four years—a long period in the history of Portuguese Ministries, usually so short. It is not the Author's intention, even were he qualified, to enter into an examination of the measures of this Administration—whether it governed wisely or well. Measures which in themselves are essentially good, may be objected to from the careless or illegal way in which they are carried out; or the ease with which they may be fraudulently made a dead letter. The very curious legislation which the author has observed, during so many years' residence in Portugal, has fully confirmed him in this opinion.

We must slightly refer to three measures promulgated by the Thomar Government, (during Saldanha's absence, and repealed before his return), because they were the chief causes, or ostensible reasons, which led to the sudden revolutionary movement, popularly known as that of "Maria da Fonte." They were—a Decree organising the Magistracy; a law respecting taxes; and a sanitary law. The first mentioned, dated Aug. 1st, 1844, regulated the nomination of the Magistracy, the appointment of educational professors, and the remunera-

* Now the Portuguese Minister resident in London.

tion of certain classes in the Army. With regard to the Magistracy, its provisions were both just and necessary; as its principal object was to empower the Government to correct those abuses which, oftentimes, resulted from a Magistrate being for too long a period located in the same district.

The law of taxation was dated April 19th, 1845. Its effect was to condense some eight or nine existing taxes, of various categories, into three. It had further the effect that, instead of making the taxes to consist of a fixed percentage, the revenue from which would be variable, it determined the amount to be contributed by each district, and on that amount the percentage to be paid was calculated. The system is still in force, although rendered less objectionable than at its first introduction. For, at one period, while some favoured districts paid a tax of but four per cent. upon their assessed value, others paid as much as twenty-three per cent.

The sanitary law of Nov. 26th, 1845, contained some 300 articles, regulating the practice of medicine and surgery, the sale of drugs and medicines, quarantine laws, burials, public drainage and sewage, &c. It established a considerable corps of employés, and provided for their remuneration by fees which would be objectionable.

These laws contained much that was good; and a proof that they did so is found in a document before us, containing the programme forwarded to Saldanha by some of the members of the Chartist Party, in which it is proposed to re-establish them with certain modifications. But Portuguese Legislators rarely endeavour to prune a measure of its defects, or graft improvements upon a stock that has already taken root. When once a law or system is pronounced defective, it is dug up and consigned, root and branch, to destruction; after which, another is planted in its place, producing the same results as its predecessor, and meeting, eventually, with a similar fate.

Early in April, 1846, there were risings in the Province of Minho; the object of which was not only to procure the repeal of these laws, but also to obtain the fall of the Cabinet. The cries of "Death to the Ministry" were succeeded by others of "Viva El-Rei D. Miguel;" and some were said to have been

heard in favour of proclaiming the Queen "absolute;" until it was impossible to ascertain the real motives of these disturbances, which soon extended themselves to various parts of the kingdom.

In these circumstances, the Government, on the 20th of April, authorized by the Chambers, suspended the "guarantees" and the liberty of the Press, for the space of two months; and, on the 21st, Sr. José Bernardo da Silva Cabral was empowered by a *Carta Regia* to endeavour to quell the revolution in the north. We learn that, on this occasion, an order was issued for the imprisonment of Sr. A. R. de Sampaio,* the talented editor of the anti-ministerial paper, the *Revolução de Setembro.* It is remarkable that this gentleman not only eluded the vigilance of the police, who were in quest of him; but, when his own paper was suppressed, he succeeded in circulating a smaller one, called the *Espectro,* in spite of every attempt to discover either the writer or the press which printed it. The cleverness with which the secrecy of its publication was ensured, attracted much attention; for, in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" of May 15th, 1847, an article thus alluded to it:—

"The printing office was changed every night; and the editor, hunted by the police, risking imprisonment and government persecution, never felt assured, if, on the morrow, he would lay his head on the same pillow where it had reposed to-day."

The Chambers, nevertheless, continued to meet; and, on the 7th of May, a proposal was made by a member of the Opposition, that a message should be sent to the Queen requesting her Majesty to dismiss the Ministry. Only 15 Deputies supported the motion. Four days later the revolution was triumphant in Lisbon; and Count das Antas was sent to the north to supersede Cabral.

The Count de Villa Real (D. Fernando) who, in 1837, had suffered the loss of a leg in defence of the Charter, was now one of the most active of those who supported the insurrection. It soon extended itself into various parts of the kingdom; and most incendiary addresses to the troops and to the people were distributed in every direction. The Duke da Terceira thought proper to send in his resignation, together with those of his

* Subsequently Minister for the Home Department.

colleagues. The Count de Villa Real (D. José) having in vain attempted to form a new Ministry, the Queen was compelled to call upon the Duke de Palmella to undertake the task; and he, on the 20th of May, was able to make no better combination than himself as President, with the Portfolios of the Home, Justice, and Finance departments; the Duke da Terceira with those of War and Marine, which he held but three days; while the Foreign Office was bestowed upon Saldanha in his absence, if he would accept it.

These changes had not been made without serious disturbances at Lisbon. The troops had fired upon the people. On the 22nd, fresh incendiary proclamations were circulated, calling upon the people to "take up arms and make an end of the Janizaries who had shot them down during the preceding night." All the ultra papers demanded the immediate dismissal of the Duke da Terceira, by whose orders they asserted that the troops had fired on the people. The Duke at once resigned. "Count de Thomar and his brother left for Cadiz a week ago," writes a correspondent on the 30th. "Gonzalez Bravo (the Spanish Minister) hid them in his house; and thence, by his assistance, they got on board." The Count's house, we are informed, was in danger of being burnt down. Attempts were made to arm the National Guard. All public securities fell; and so great was the run on the Bank, that the Government authorized it to issue *notes* for the space of three months. At night, on the 24th, the Queen signed a proclamation, declaring how solicitous she was of attending to the complaints of the people; that she had dismissed the Count de Thomar; had annulled the objectionable laws; that the liberty of the Press was restored; and that the suspension of the formalities which guarantee individual liberties had ceased.

Further alterations were made in the Ministry on the 26th, and it stood as follows:—

President and Finance .	PALMELLA.
Home	MOUSINHO D'ALBUQUERQUE.
War	SALDANHA. (LOUREIRO in his absence.)
Justice	J. F. DE SOURE.
Marine	LOUREIRO.
Foreign	LAVRADIO.

We may here observe, by anticipation, that Saldanha wrote from Brussels declining to form part of this Ministry; and that, on the 19th of July, Viscount de Sá was appointed to the War Office, when further modifications took place.

These sudden Ministerial changes on the 20th and 26th of May, which followed the resignation of the Terceira-Thomar Cabinet, sufficiently denote the uneasy state of affairs, which soon assumed a very threatening aspect.

"Their Majesties," writes a correspondent to Saldanha, "have behaved with great dignity and prudence. They and everybody have their eyes turned towards the Marshal, whose absence is much regretted, and from whose future services all hope for the salvation of Portugal. The question may turn from one of *principles* to one of *dynasty*."

And now, letters, from all parties alike, were showered upon Saldanha at Brussels, begging him to hasten his return. By one post there came no less than seventy-five!

Senhor de Pancas writes on the 29th of May: "Come and help this kingdom, whose actual institutions, whose Royal Family, and whose happiness are in great danger. At present, the most confused, outrageous, and hopeless anarchy desolates our country, which reckons on your so valuable assistance for the re-establishment of order."

On the first of June, the Baron de Moncorvo, at that time Minister to the Court of St. James's, in his anxiety to anticipate any difficulties, and to render Saldanha's journey more easy, writes to him that orders had been sent to the Custom Houses of Dover, Folkestone, Ramsgate, and London, by the Government, that every attention should be shown to Saldanha and his family, at whichever of these ports they presented themselves. He adds: "What sad news has the last Mail from Lisbon brought us. Since the terrible year of 1828, when D. Miguel arrived there, I do not recollect such a crisis. Nevertheless, it may not be impossible to get out of it decently. But time must not be lost; and sound measures should be adopted that would really benefit the nation." Moncorvo informs Saldanha that the Portuguese war ship, the *Mindello*, is in the Thames, and that he would take upon himself to detain it

until the 9th, if Saldanha and his family would go in it; adding, "I beg you most earnestly to go as soon as possible to Portugal."

While this correspondence was going forward, every attempt was made to influence Saldanha's determination. He was told by one friend, that the circumstances which prevented his return to his cherished country have, by his absence, been the cause of "all the horrors through which we have passed during these two months, and all through which we shall still have to pass." The real object of the revolutionists, he was assured, was not to get rid of Cabral and his laws, but to be able once again to annul the Charter of D. Pedro.

The Duke da Terceira had been offered the Legation at Vienna, and had refused it. The passport for which he had applied was granted; but he now determined to await the arrival of Saldanha before he left the country; the Chartist party having begged him to do so. They looked upon Saldanha as their "only plank of salvation." "HIGH PERSONAGES," writes Ximenes, at that time Terceira's Aide-de-Camp, "and all the Lisbon garrison faithful to the Charter, have authorized me to request that you will come immediately, either to accept the post of Minister of War, or even as a private person." He then describes the state of fermentation in which Lisbon is, respecting the Marshal's arrival; and says, that hundreds send daily to his house for information, or accost him in the street with enquiries.

The anxiety which had been shown by the Ministry with regard to Saldanha's arrival is testified by an official letter, so early as May the 22nd, addressed by Terceira's Aide-de-Camp, (while the Marshal-Minister was still in office,) to the Commandant of the *Duqueza de Bragança* frigate. In it, he requests this officer, the moment the Packet from the north approaches the Bar of Lisbon, to ascertain if the Marquis de Saldanha is on board. Should it be so, he is to convey to the Marquis her Majesty's commands, that he shall immediately disembark at Belem; and, without loss of time, go and receive her Majesty's orders. To facilitate his doing so, the Commandant is desired to place a boat at Saldanha's disposal, with every convenience and facility for the disembarkation of his

luggage, which the writer declares is dispensed, by special order, from any examination at the Custom House.

As time passed on, so anxious had been the "High Personages" that Saldanha should not receive his first impressions from any source but the Palace, that the precautions were repeated as the day approached for the arrival of another Packet. This time the order was sent direct.

"ILLMO SR,

"His Majesty the King desires that immediately the English Packet from the north arrives in the Tagus, you will send on board to ascertain if the Marquis de Saldanha is come in it; and, if so, to make known to him the desires of their Majesties that he should disembark on the Quay at Belem, and come immediately to speak to their Majesties.

"BARON DA FOZ,
"Aide-de-Camp on service.

"ROYAL PALACE AT BELEM.
"14*th June*, 1846."

This anxiety cannot be wondered at, when, not only were cries at this time raised for the Constitution of 1820 (about which we have already so often written), but the name of D. Pedro V. was invoked as a rallying point for the revolutionists; whilst *morras* (death) to the Charter, the Queen, the King, and even to the actual Government, were uttered from many directions.

"The Government," writes a correspondent, "now begins to know its position; and, were it not for the aspect assumed by the garrison of Lisbon, the Queen would be no longer in Portugal." Nor need this supposition excite our wonder. An article appeared in one of the violent ultra papers, in which the Government was advised that "if Counsellor Dietz did not immediately quit the Palace of the Queen, the people of Lisbon were disposed to go themselves and drag him from the royal residence, which was sullied by the presence of the most vile and shameless parasite." "This article," writes another correspondent to Saldanha, "has very much vexed their Majesties, and almost killed poor Dietz."

Portugal at this time might be compared to a volcano. Every one felt the likelihood of an eruption. No one could feel assured how soon it might take place, or how long it might be delayed. On the 19th of June, we learn that when the Band of the 2nd Caçadores had ceased playing in the *Passeio Publico*, a mob insisted upon hearing the Hymn of 1820. The bandmaster having declared that the Band was unacquainted with it, that of 1838 was played amidst *Vivas* to the Constitution of 1820; and, followed by the mob, the Band continued to play while it marched through some of the principal streets.

Whilst Lisbon continued to present an appearance of tumult and approaching anarchy, in the provinces guerilla forces were in full activity; some, in preparation to combat any attempt at a re-action in favour of the Chartist party—others, in the hope that the time was not far distant, when a Miguelite movement might be commenced, and successfully carried out. The telegraph announced that *vivas* for D. Miguel were heard in many parts of the country: there were reports of a rising, and that our old acquaintance, General Povoas, had placed himself at the head of it: whilst, at Monte Alegre, it was said, D. Miguel had been actually proclaimed.

"You will of necessity be obliged to come," writes a correspondent to Saldanha, "in order once more to lead the soldiers of D. Pedro against the Miguelite party; which, strengthened by the consideration afforded to it by the Septembrist party, has dared to raise the cry of "D. Miguel I." The same letter informs us, that the Viscount de Sá had been appointed chief of the National Guard, which the Queen had consented should be again organized; that Sr. Reis e Vasconcellos had accepted the appointment of Civil Governor of Lisbon, on condition of the Guard not being armed until the arrival of Saldanha; and, such was the fear of disturbances, that two-thirds of the officers and soldiers of the garrison of Lisbon, were kept day and night under arms.

Saldanha, at this time, was not insensible to the unhappy condition of his country; and not even the continued sorrow which afflicted him for the loss of his beloved son would have prevented him from returning to Portugal, had he himself seen

clearly the manner in which he could, under existing circumstances, render service to his Queen and Country. He had written to the author, on the 31st of May, when the first intelligence of the recent events reached him at Brussels:

"I am really very sorry for the occurrences in Portugal. It is deplorable to see, that the flame of revolution is not yet extinguished. Provided they respect the Queen and the Charter, the evil will not be desperate. I had read, a few hours before, in the newspapers, the intelligence you sent me from the *Galignani*. I hope the Duke de Palmella will be able to free himself from that net, which he himself prepared, by having, with the Miguelite and Septembrist oppositions, taken such a prominent part against the Government."

So little were Saldanha's thoughts turned to politics and the formation of Ministries, that, in the same letter, he writes:

"Send me as soon as possible the work of M. l'évêque de Boulogne sur les mystères, imprimé à Boulogne, 1772.

"I wish also to have the best translations of Socrates, Plato, and Cicero. Try to find them, if possible, original and translation together.

"I beg you to ascertain which are the best ancient and modern writers who have written on the existence of God, and on the immortality of the Soul. Which of such works may be obtained, and their prices.

"I am going shortly to Liège. Lacordaire will be there, and will preach on the occasion of the Festival of Corpus Christi. It will last from the 10th of June to the 21st. That Festival was instituted at Liège; and there is to be a Jubilee; and it is announced, that many bishops will come from France and preach. To-day we are all happy. We have all confessed and communicated."

On the 9th of June, Saldanha again writes to the author:

"You must know the miserable state of affairs in Portugal. On the 31st of May, I received a letter from Ximenes, dated the 20th, telling me that I had been appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. I wrote on the 1st of June, that since 1835, I had taken the resolution not to be a member of any ad-

ministration, except I was convinced that my doing so was absolutely necessary in order to save the Queen's throne. Independent of that resolution, the state in which I considered Portugal to be would oblige me to refuse. For nobody, unless Palmella with other members of the Opposition, either in or out of the Chambers, would be able (which I doubt) to put barriers to the exigencies of a triumphant insurrection. I had already written saying, that (as I had written to D. Pedro when his brother left England for Portugal, that not a month would elapse before, from Regent, he would become King, even if against his will), I was sure that Palmella and Lavradio, brought into power by the support of Miguelites and Septembrists, would soon make room for the latter. Veremos. But, my dear friend, my position is precarious; and you must not be quite certain that the 1st of July will still find me a diplomatist. Adieu. We are all well, and I am in a hurry; because I am going off to Liège to be able to despise the world as it deserves.

"Yours, etc.,

"SALDANHA."

After his return from Liège, Saldanha again wrote on the 20th:

"We had at Liège 17 Archbishops and Bishops, and two Nuncios; and the best *prédicateurs*, Lacordaire excepted. But, according to many, le Père Ravignan is a better one than Lacordaire. According to my feeling, and I am sure you would be of my opinion, le Père Dechamps, a Redemptorist, and brother of the present Minister of Foreign Affairs here, is still better than Ravignan. The Vicar-General from Paris is a very superior preacher. So is the Archbishop of Tyr; and the Bishops of Cambrai, of Langres, etc. In fact, all the sermons, morning, noon, and night, were very extraordinary. I assure you, that the Père Dechamps always made upon me, and upon all my family, the impression that we were hearing one of the twelve disciples of our Lord.

"Yours, etc.,

"SALDANHA."

Whilst Saldanha was residing at Brussels, he went to Paris for a few days in the month of July. He was accompanied by his son and a servant; and, on their return, on the 8th of that month, the author, who was then at Paris, took his leave of the Marshal at the railway station. Unfortunately, the journey involved the Marshal in the dangers of a very serious railway accident: and, as there were then no electric telegraphs, the author's anxiety was not relieved until the receipt of the following letter from Saldanha, acquainting him that he had reached Brussels in safety.

"*July 9th*, 1846.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I write as soon as possible to let you know we are all safe and unhurt. A most miraculous escape. Twenty-two carriages fell from a great height into an *étang* 25 feet deep. The one I was in, when already so far gone that we had to come out on our hands and feet, had its chains broken, and remained (separated from those which fell), suspended, in such a manner that it was expected to go down every moment. We were seven inside, but not one received the least injury. José Antonio (the servant) was in the carriage immediately behind us; and the shock received from the one I was in was such, that the passengers all broke each other's heads and faces. J. Antonio was very little hurt, but the blow he gave on the eye of his front companion was such, that the poor man could not continue the journey. I only saw such a sight on the breach of S. Sebastian, after a mine had blown up several hundred brave men. We arrived this morning at 4 o'clock. My good brother* had heard of that terrible event three hours before he saw me, and was most dreadfully afflicted. My wife knew nothing. Remember me to Walpole.

"Yours, etc.,

"SALDANHA."

On his return to Brussels, Saldanha saw in the *Times* and *Galignani* a letter from the Viscount de Queluz, dated at

* D. Francisco de Saldanha, Count d'Azinhaga; at that time Portuguese Minister at Brussels.

Rome, in which a declaration is made that his Majesty, D. Miguel, will never give up his claims to the Throne of Portugal.

The Marshal now determined on returning to Lisbon, actuated, no doubt, by the many letters he was constantly receiving from his friends.

It is evident, from his correspondence, at this time, how anxiously "HIGH PERSONAGES" awaited his arrival. The "salvation of Portugal" was hoped for, from his "future services," by all the leading men of the country; if we except those turbulent leaders who were ready to sacrifice Queen, Dynasty and the Charter itself to their own ambition. "Hopeless anarchy," writes one correspondent, "desolates the country." The Baron de Moncorvo, then Portuguese Minister in London, most earnestly urges him to go to Lisbon without delay. The Duke da Terceira will not hold office, in these difficult times, unless Saldanha will form part of the Administration. Palmella writes: "Come and help the Government to defend the Throne of the Queen. . . . . Your assistance is essential." Palmella was already aware that he had attempted to guide a torrent that would not be controlled by him; and had found himself in "that net which he himself prepared by taking such a prominent part against the Government with the Miguelite and Septembrist Opposition." Silva Carvalho, that distinguished Finance Minister, declares in his letter to Saldanha, that the "Dynasty is threatened"—and begs the Marshal to come to its succour. He and many others assert that the liberal Institutions are in danger; and that cries for D. Miguel are being raised in various Provinces. The Count de Lavradio, Saldanha's ancient adversary, writes: "Our position in 1826 was bad, but the present is much worse;" and he calls upon the Marshal to make the sacrifice his country needs. Drummond, Margiochi, and a host of other correspondents declare that Saldanha alone can save the country from her enemies on either side, the Septembrists and the Miguelites,—the anarchists and the absolutists—who, we shall hereafter see, were united in *one* object—that of driving the Queen from the Throne.

No sooner had the Terceira-Thomar Ministry fallen, on the

20th of May, and given place to that of Palmella, than Miguelite cries had arisen in all directions. Viscount de Fonte Nova, then commanding the 3rd Military Division, had announced to the Minister of War, on the 29th, that "Vivas" had been given for D. Miguel at Gondarem and other places. The Baron de Lordello, commanding the 5th Division, had given information on the 23rd of June, that a purely Miguelite revolution was being prepared in the whole Province of Traz-os-Montes. At periods extending from the 24th of June to the 7th of July, General Gouvêa e Vasconcellos, Barons de Almargem, and da Varzea do Douro, commanding the 6th, 4th, and 2nd Military Divisions, and the Viscount de Alcobaça, appointed to the 3rd, gave information of similar movements spreading in the districts where they held command.

On the 19th of July, the Viscount de Sá da Bandeira succeeded to the War Office. Shortly afterwards, the Baron de Almargem made known to him a report, that General Macdonell was already in the field in support of D. Miguel; and the Generals already named, together with other local authorities, continued to announce to the Government, from their respective districts, Miguelite risings, or preparations for such.

The Minister of War endeavoured to conceal, as much as possible, the real state of the country with respect to these plots and movements of the Miguelite party; and it was not until the month of February, 1848, that they became publicly known, when the despatches of these Generals were quoted by the Marshal in the Chamber of Peers.

Before we conclude this chapter, it may be observed, that when Saldanha's determination not to enter the Ministry was finally made known at Lisbon—a Ministry which he well knew was averse to the Charter and unfriendly to the Queen—the Viscount de Sá was appointed to the War Office. This turbulent and ambitious Minister, fearing, or perhaps foreseeing, that the arrival of Saldanha might lead the Army to undo the work of a revolution in which it had taken no part, had, immediately on his accession to power, dismissed every officer of whose political principles he did not feel sure. It was he who, to curry favour with the army, had, as we have seen in 1835,

demanded above 200 decorations for officers, who had in nowise merited them; and which were, accordingly, refused by Saldanha, at that time Minister of War. Twice President of a Cabinet, four times Minister of War, and figuring eleven times with other Portfolios, he had obtained much influence over his numerous followers; and now it was said, on his entrance into the Ministry, it required all the skill and moderation of Palmella to curb his excesses.

CHAPTER IV.

1846.

Saldanha enters the Tagus—Goes to the Queen—Letter from Reis—Note from the King—Extraordinary conduct of the Minister of War—Saldanha advises the Queen—Palmella is unable to control the march of affairs—Saldanha plans retirement from politics—His reply to Lord Howard's counsels—His letter to the author—He resigns the post of Councillor of State—His letter to the Queen—She refuses to accept his resignation—Addresses from the Chartist Party—Thomar's overtures to Saldanha—Account of events by Moura Coutinho—Vast Miguelite conspiracy discovered—Queen consults Palmella—Saldanha sent for—Offers to serve with Palmella—Palmella declines—Events of October 6th—Saldanha's note to his wife on the 7th—Palmella's account of the part he took—Lord Howard's despatch to his Government—He leaves for England—Violent proclamation against the Queen—Junta established at Oporto—Mr. Southern to Admiral Parker—Despatch to Lord Palmerston—Southern favours the rebels—Rising in favour of D. Miguel—Note from Saldanha to Southern—Bomfim's note to Saldanha—He joins the rebels—Colonel Wylde arrives—Letter from Lord Howard introducing him—Palmerston's opinion—Thomar accepts Legation at Madrid—Extract from a London Paper.

On the 23rd of July, 1846, Saldanha entered the Tagus in the English Packet *Pacha;* and, as it lay-to at Belem, an officer went on board, and made known to him that it was her Majesty's pleasure, that he should immediately land, and proceed to the royal residence.

On his arriving at the Palace, the Queen said that she had desired to see him before he had an opportunity of speaking to anyone else, in order to request that he would not pledge himself to any party, or line of conduct, until he had, after so long an absence, well studied the real state of affairs.

The following letter renders it evident, that Sr. Reis assumed, or hoped, that the Marshal would take *his* view of policy.

"S. C.* *25th of July*, 1846.

"ILL^MO E EX^MO S^R,

"As I cannot yet say if I shall be able personally to offer you my felicitations for the event this day commemorates,† I wish, at least, to do so by writing; and trust you will receive them with your usual benevolence.

"I am aware that Leonel is going to see you this evening; and my opinion is that you had better speak to him in a way that will please him. Cast your eyes over his article, in the Supplement to the 'Patriota,' which I send you.

"The idea is general that you are not hostile to the late revolutionary movement; and I hope that good results, both for the present state of affairs, and for the future, may arise from it.

"I have the honour to be

"Your respectful and faithful friend,

"and obliged servant,

"JOSÉ JOAQUIM DOS REIS E VASCONCELLOS."

"Some days after my arrival," writes Saldanha, "I received a note from the King, saying that the Queen desired to speak with me on the following morning at 8 o'clock. At that hour I entered the Queen's apartment, where I found Sr. D. Fernando and Dietz. Her Majesty said she had sent for me in order to ask my advice in a very serious affair: which was, that the Minister of War, Viscount de Sá, had presented for her signature a Decree, with the intention of promoting to the rank of ensign some sergeants who had taken part in the revolt at Almeida, and who had lately returned from Spain, where they had taken refuge. She had refused to sign it, declaring that the revolt at Almeida had nothing to do with the recent revolution which had taken place in May.‡ The Viscount, on Wednesday, had again presented the Decree with the same

* S. C. for "Sua Casa" (Your House). A Portuguese phrase of exceeding politeness, whereby the writer protests that his house is placed at the disposal of the person addressed.

† The 25th of July was the anniversary of the victory gained by Saldanha at Oporto, in 1833, over the army commanded by Marshal Bourmont.

‡ During the late Administration presided over by the Duke da Terceira.

result: after which, on arriving at the War Office, he had met Cesar de Vasconcellos, who, as soon as he was made acquainted with the continued refusal of her Majesty, had observed; 'do you know what you ought to do? Order the sergeants to wear their sashes, and to go on duty as ensigns.' This had been done; and, yesterday, said the Queen, one of the sergeants appeared at the Palace with a sash, and, as the officer on duty, dined at the Palace. My opinion was demanded. I replied; 'Dismiss the Minister immediately, and bring him before a Court Martial.' 'That,' said her Majesty, 'is impossible. It would bring on another Revolution, of which we should be the first victims.' 'In that case,' I observed, 'your Majesty should sign the promotions, with a date antecedent to the day on which the sergeants put on their sashes.'" And thus the affair ended for the present.*

We will spare the reader any surmises respecting the numerous conversations, which, on his arrival, took place between Saldanha and the various leaders of political parties. Without approving the late revolution, Saldanha, regarding it as an accomplished fact, resolved to remain neuter so long as he considered that Palmella would be able to guide its course without danger to the Queen or Charter. But events soon proved how little Palmella could control the greedy mob which had brought about the downfal of the late Ministry. It was impossible to satisfy them. "Je viens de faire deux ennemis et un ingrat" was the witty remark of a French Minister, when he had bestowed on one suitor the place solicited by three. Still greater must have been the dilemma of him who declared to the Count de Rio Maior, that the applicants for places in his Department alone were already 2000!

The present Ministers, ere long, requested the Queen to dismiss the Count de Thomar and his brother from their appointments of Councillors of State. Saldanha, who had expected this step, was called upon by her Majesty in Council to give his opinion as to the advisableness of so doing—such

* Saldanha, in a note written at a later period, declares that the Viscount de Sá observed to him that he esteemed the Queen as a woman, but he desired to deprive her of as many of her prerogatives as he could.

appointments being for life. The following is an abstract of the opinion he gave at the sitting of the Council of State on the 19th of August, 1846.

"If the Cabinet had not made the dismissal of the two Councillors of State a ministerial question, I should not for one moment have hesitated to beg of your Majesty to refuse to sign the Decrees of dismissal; but since it is a question of a change of Administration, no one but your Majesty, in your exalted wisdom, weighing in your mind the present circumstances of the country, can decide upon the necessity for signing those Decrees, or abstaining from doing so.

"And—that it may not be presumed, from the mode in which I have expressed myself, that I wish to exercise a reserve, which is foreign to my character and to my nature; although not unmindful that, after five years of absence, I am, perhaps, unable to form a just appreciation of the state of the country;—I yet declare that, (from what I have observed since my arrival, and, more especially, within the last four days,) I am convinced that the Presidency of the Duke de Palmella over the Council of Ministers is the only means of securing order."

In giving this opinion, Saldanha frankly declares that the only means he perceives of securing order is the continuance of Palmella at the head of the Administration. The Ministers had made the dismissal of the Count de Thomar and his brother a ministerial question, notwithstanding that members of the "Council of State," in Portugal, were the confidential advisers of the Crown, nominated for life, and independent of any successive changes of Ministry. But, on the exceptional principle of "Salus populi suprema lex," he sanctioned that the Queen should dismiss the two Councillors of State, rather than leave herself without any Government at all.

It was not long before Saldanha saw how vain were the hopes which he had placed on the power of Palmella to guide the helm of State. Events marched with rapidity; and Saldanha felt that, under present circumstances, he was powerless to do good. Accordingly, on the 29th of August, he wrote to the author at Paris proposing plans, the carrying out of which

implied complete retirement from political or ministerial life. But if the Marshal's hopes of being useful to his Country were upon the wane, the importance of his position was far from being so. While he was sounding each party with a view to discovering its strength and plans, and recoiling in disgust from the hideous picture they presented of disunion, selfishness, and corruption; the members of those parties were watching with intense anxiety his every movement, in the hope of either securing his support or depriving their adversaries of it. The party, which, more than any other, desired and needed his alliance was the Cabralite, which had been deprived of the guidance and influence of its founder and leader—Costa Cabral. The advances made by its members to Saldanha were watched with the greatest jealousy; and by none more so than by the British Minister, who was under the impression that the Cabrals were supported by Spain. On the 29th of August, Lord Howard de Walden wrote an urgent letter to Saldanha, which we give in full, reminding the reader, for its clearer appreciation, that Costa Cabral, when the insurrection which turned his party out was found to be irresistible, had taken refuge in the house of Gonzalez Bravo, the Spanish Minister, and thence had fled into Spain.

"*Most secret.* "C. *August* 29.

"MY DEAR MARSHAL,

"Being confined at Cintra, I am not able to go to see you. I therefore write you a line to *caution* you that *your name* is being made use of *coupled with that of G. Bravo.*

"You are aware of the intimacy there of one of your friends. Your long conferences with G. Br. are spoken of—evidently with the intention of creating distrust of you on the part of your friends.

"You are aware that you were reckoned upon by the counter-revolutionists; and probably the *Spds*, to place yourself at the head of a *reactionary* movement. The revival therefore of this suspicion cannot but undermine the fine position which you have occupied; and in which you have already rendered most important services, recognized by all

impartial parties; and through which so much remains for you to do. But ANY *transaction* with THE *Spanish party is most dangerous for your position.* You enjoy public confidence now; for God's sake be cautious and don't be tempted by INTERESTED *friends* to countenance by APPEARANCES the impression of *secret negotiations with Br.* which *I am certain* will be most mischievous in MANY *ways.* I write this in the strictest confidence of friendship, *knowing for certain* that bad use IS being made of your supposed *intimate* relation with *Br.*

"Adieu. Yours, etc.,

"H. W."

Lord Howard's fears were without foundation. Saldanha had been for too many years an admirer of England and the English to be casting himself or his country into the arms of Spain. He replied;

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I thank you for the part you take in everything that regards me; but I cannot help saying that your kind note, which I have just received, amused me a little. *We* wanted to ascertain the nature of Bravo's orders about his leaving for Madrid. I paid him a visit on Tuesday. Sambuy was there. Bravo was good enough to take me to his study; and there he shewed me all his correspondence. That is all. Pray my good friend never fear that I may leave old England for new Spain.

"Truly yours,

"SALDANHA."

The British Minister was convinced; but he still shewed his anxiety by once more impressing upon Saldanha the necessity for not giving any foundation to the supposition that he was connected with the Cabralite party.

On the 15th of September, Saldanha again wrote to the author:

"This unfortunate country was never in such confusion as now. . . . . The taxes are not paid, because the people have been taught not to pay any; and they fly to arms, when

called upon to pay. . . . . Since the day before yesterday, I am quite free, for I have even given up my place as Councillor of State. Everybody wanted me to come in when Palmella would retire. He told me on Saturday, that he could not hold out any longer, and that he gave me three days' notice to prepare myself to take his place. I resigned the next day, telling the Queen that I did so, because I was not a party man, and that I saw no prospect of governing, and was determined to say adieu to politics. I AM THEREFORE QUITE FREE. . . . . Poor, poor Country! I think Augustus would have died, if he saw the misery of everybody. The—— I will not go on."

The circumstances which led to Saldanha's offer of retirement from the Council are shortly told as follows.

On the 12th of September, at an interview with Palmella, in the presence of Reis e Vasconcellos and Pinto Magalhães, the Duke informed Saldanha that, upon the Queen's return from Mafra, he intended requesting her Majesty to charge him (Saldanha) with the formation of a new Cabinet: to which Saldanha at once replied; that it was impossible that he could accept such a charge, being unable to rely on the support of any of the political parties. Palmella, however, being urgent on the subject, Saldanha, to prove his sincerity, determined to send in his resignation of a seat in the Council of State.

It is but just to observe here that Palmella regarded the conversation in a different light; for he stated, subsequently, that he himself was not seriously bent on resigning; and that his words were somewhat as follows: "The load I bear will have to pass to your shoulders." But that Saldanha considered the conversation serious is proved by his answer: "I will take measures to prevent it;" as also by the communication made to the author in the letter given above: "He (Palmella) told me on Saturday, that he could not hold out any longer, and that he gave me three days' notice to take his place."

How entirely he was in earnest is more fully made evident by his letter to the Queen, which was taken to Mafra by the Duke da Terceira on the following day.

"LISBON, *September 13th*, 1846.

"YOUR MAJESTY,

"During the Civil War, upon the field of battle, where, each time that glory crowned your Majesty's arms, harsh necessity forced us to fight against our fellow countrymen, tears followed each fresh triumph; because (as I wrote to your Majesty's august father from the field of Almoster), *that* glory was acquired at the cost of Portuguese blood. As early in the struggle as the siege of Oporto, I used my best endeavours to bring it to a close by an agreement between the belligerent parties, so that there might be neither conquerors nor conquered; and I continued those efforts during the Campaigns which followed the siege down to the battle of Ponte d'Asseca. The moment our adversaries laid down their arms, divergencies of opinion soon arose amongst the defenders of your Majesty's Throne and the Constitutional Charter; and the Nation found itself divided, no longer in two but in three parties. The want of experience in parliamentary life, the ardour and enthusiasm with which each followed his own convictions, led the two parties which supported a Representative System to regard each other with an aversion equal (to say the least) to that with which both had formerly regarded their common adversaries; and the obstacles to a sincere union of all Portuguese, as one Family around your Majesty's Throne, increased with the termination of the Civil War. Unconnected with politics from 1837 to 1840; completely separated from either Party, and even from the individuals who might be supposed to represent them, I returned to Portugal, after an absence of nearly five years, not without some hope, and, most assuredly, animated with the greatest desire, to assist, even at the cost of the greatest sacrifices, to reconcile all parties with each other. A Government honest and strong; a Government economical, impartial, just, independent of all parties, and completely unconnected with all secret societies, could still, undoubtedly, although not without painful efforts, attain the end which I seek.

"But your Majesty will allow me to observe, that everything which has taken place since my arrival has proved, that even were it possible to meet with six Ministers animated with these

desires, and agreeing as to the means of carrying them into effect, they would find themselves completely isolated; because, divided into three distinct groups, men will only support the Government which they consider at the head of their party. The knowledge of this sad truth gave me most heartfelt sorrow. With this conviction, and intimately persuaded that parties (especially in the heated state and mutual aversion in which they are) ruin the country and themselves with it, I resolved neither directly nor indirectly to contribute to augment the misfortunes of my country. After a serious struggle with myself, I determined to take no part in politics; and, that I may the more positively carry this resolution into practice, I beg your Majesty will be pleased to accept the resignation, which I now offer, of my post of Councillor of State.

"That God may preserve your Majesty's precious existence, which is so necessary to all, is the sincere wish of

"Your Majesty's most faithful and most obedient subject,

"MARQUEZ DE SALDANHA."

Whatever may have been Palmella's intentions at the interview between himself and the Marshal, he soon became aware that the latter was firmly bent on refusing office. He wrote as follows, on hearing of the step which Saldanha had taken.

"*September* 14*th*, 1846.

"MY DEAR MARQUIS,

"I was thunder-struck at your letter! Can it be possible that an impatient expression of mine, arising from my indignation at the electoral follies of some of the '*patuleias*,' should have led you to—to what? To assist the Government, so beset with difficulties, but of whose good intentions you are not ignorant? No! on the contrary; to withdraw the support you might have given it; to listen to the instigations of blind furious madmen; and to look upon the Cabralites and the Miguelites as parties!! Your resignation is an impossibility; and neither ought the Queen to accept it under any pretext; nor ought you to allow such a fact to remain as the Duke da Terceira taking your resignation to Mafra!!! Upon my word I cannot yet believe it.

"I implore you, by all that is sacred, not to fail to present yourself here to-day at 4 o'clock.

"I am from my heart,

"Your sincere friend and faithful colleague,

"PALMELLA."

The Queen, as was to be expected, refused to accept Saldanha's resignation. She felt that his accession to power must shortly become a necessity. Although, from the day which followed his arrival at Lisbon, overtures on many occasions had been made to him by the Chartist party, he had constantly declined to accede to their wishes. But now, when he saw clearly the dangerous condition into which his country had fallen, he was no longer able to resist the desire to save it and his Sovereign from the ruin which threatened them both. Actuated by these feelings, he consented to receive an Address from the leaders of the Chartist Party, which was presented to him at Cintra, on the 23rd of September, by D. Miguel Ximenes.

"ILL^MO E EX^MO S^R,

"Recent events of the gravest character have cast sadness into the spirits of all true friends of the Throne and existing institutions; but, at the same time, they have led many of those friends to hope that brighter days are in store for this unfortunate country—days of Order, of Liberty, of Security and of Peace—and to increase their efforts to bring about that happy change. With this view, the great Chartist party has formed a Central Committee, composed of those citizens who have the honour of addressing your Excellency. As such, therefore, and after mature deliberation, we have decided to lay before you the following succinct statement.

"That this Country stands upon the brink of a precipice is an undeniable fact, which the events of each day tend to confirm. The Throne insulted and coerced; the governing powers de-centralised; the fundamental Institutions of the State torn asunder; the most atrocious persecution systematically carried on; the prevalence of the most exaggerated

democratical ideas; the annihilation of the Portuguese Army; each basis of Society continually threatened; the Nation divided into numerous factions, all excited with intent to imbrue their hands in their country's blood; the dismissal of the most faithful servants of the State; the recently raised hopes of the proscribed Usurper's party; the organization of a permanent state of revolution; and, finally, the plans which are being contrived to increase the state of anarchy, and to destroy every guarantee of order and well-understood Liberty; all these considerations have convinced the Chartist party that the time has arrived to put an end to so calamitous a state of affairs.

"The Chartist party has always looked to your Excellency to carry out the noblest, the most national, and the most glorious enterprise which could add still further honour to a brow already covered with laurels. It is not alone the renown gained in a hundred battles; it is not alone your Excellency's superior talent which justifies our unlimited confidence; it is the constant proofs which you have given, that the daughter of D. Pedro will always, in the hour of affliction, find at her side the arm, the sword, and the advice of the Marquis de Saldanha; and that the Portuguese Nation can always reckon upon your effectual co-operation, when it sees its liberties and its existence in danger.

"Events crowd upon us rapidly. The demagogues are preparing to inundate the Capital with blood and horrors. But there are many who are burning to efface the stain which this shameful state of society has cast even upon the National party, which is numerous, strong, disciplined, and resolute. It imposes no conditions; it does not exact them from one who has its full and unlimited confidence. But the party begs your Excellency to place yourself at its head. By so doing you will double its ardour; you will render brilliant and easy the victory of sound principles; you will re-establish the weakened *prestige* of the Throne; restore the vigour of the Charter, and the absent influence of morality.

"We therefore beg your Excellency—should her Majesty be pleased to consult you respecting a change of Ministry—to accept the task, however arduous, of forming a Ministry; which,

enjoying your Excellency's confidence, cannot but enjoy ours. He who a thousand times has exposed his breast to the enemy's fire; who, smiling, has despised the ingratitude of man and the shafts of calumny; who can count the services he has rendered to his Queen and his Country by the number of his days; cannot but add this further sacrifice to those which have rendered the life of the Marshal Saldanha a model of abnegation and patriotism.

"We flatter ourselves with the hope that these our wishes will be well received; and renew the expressions of respect and high consideration with which we have the honour to be

"Your Excellency's

"Respectful admirers and sincere friends,

"DUKE DA TERCEIRA.
"MARQUIS DE FRONTEIRA.
"EUSEBIO CANDIDO CORDEIRO PINHEIRO FURTADO.
"ANTONIO JOSÉ DA S. LEÃO.
"JOÃO REBELLO DA COSTA CABRAL.
"JOSÉ FELICIANO CASTILHO.
"JOAQUIM BENTO PEREIRA.
"M. MIGUEL XIMENES."

To this address the Marshal replied as follows:—

"CINTRA, *September 24th*, 1846.

"ILL^MOS E EX^MOS S^RS,

"The very marked honour and great kindness shown by your Excellencies towards myself, in the statement which, as members of the Central Committee of the great Chartist party, you have addressed to me, has made a powerful impression upon my mind; and, at the same time, has filled it with consolation by the revival of that hope which had nearly been extinguished. In the most unfeeling of hearts it could not but have produced a profound sensation; in mine, the expressions with which your Excellencies have honoured me have created a feeling of gratitude, the strength of which can only be equalled by the bitterness which I felt upon perusing the vivid and, unfortunately, true description, which that statement contains, of the wretched state of our so beautiful and so unfortunate Country.

"To your Excellencies, who do me the justice to avow that I

am always ready to make every sacrifice when the welfare of my Country, and, consequently, the Throne of our Queen are at stake, I need not specify the great sacrifices I should make (certainly more than one) if I accept the task of forming a Cabinet, should her Majesty be pleased to consult me respecting a change of Ministry; but, in order that you may properly realize the extent of my gratitude, I consider it necessary to enter upon some explanations.

"The inclosed copy will inform your Excellencies of the request which, on the 13th of this month, I had the honour of presenting to her Majesty. The union of all Portuguese around the Throne of the Queen is my most ardent desire; although, in the position I then was, I considered it impossible. Your Excellencies' statement has, however, inspired me with hope; for it leads me to trust that the great Chartist party will not refuse to show to the World the glorious example of a complete renunciation of every personal feeling. If the preservation of all the prerogatives of the Crown; (perhaps it might be desirable to alter, by the means laid down in the Charter, the 8th paragraph of Article 75, in the part relating to Commerce); if the most rigorous observance of the Constitutional Charter; (perhaps it might be advisable to revise the text in order to avoid future misinterpretations); if the most anxious care for the re-establishment of morality, credit, and authority, can merit the sincere and decided support of the Chartists; I may rely upon the support of your Excellencies, and of the party you represent, if Providence has decreed that I should have to form a Ministry.

"With regard to individual appointments, I will, to be concise, offer but one example of my intention as to the principles which will guide the Cabinet. The post of 'Procurator' of the Finances which was held by Councillor Ferrão, is now occupied by a member of the Progressista party; well, if that individual, whose very name I am unacquainted with, unites honesty of character to the attainments necessary for the post he holds, I will, even should he offer his resignation, insist upon his retaining office.

"The state of the country when, it may be presumed, a change of Ministry may take place, renders impossible a new

election of Deputies, and the meeting of the Chambers on the 2nd of January next. Added to this, the excitement throughout the country would, in the presence of the Chambers, increase the difficulty of, if not render impossible, the restoration of order and quiet. For these reasons, it is an absolute necessity that the meeting of the Chambers be delayed until January, 1848.

"I beg your Excellencies seriously to consider, whether what I have here stated is sufficient to afford a general idea of the course which would be followed by an Administration, of which I formed a part; and if, after that, you still hold the same opinion with regard to such a Ministry, I trust you will rest assured that I shall not be wanting, should her Majesty think proper to honour me with her confidence; and should her Majesty be pleased to approve of my ideas, and of the persons I should have the honour of presenting to her as my colleagues.

"Begging your Excellencies to receive the expression of my most sincere gratitude, I have the honour to be,

"Your Excellencies' respectful and obliged friend,

"MARQUEZ DE SALDANHA."

To this letter the Chartist Committee immediately returned the following answer, signed by the same persons.

"LISBON, *September 25th*, 1846.

"ILL^MO E EX^MO S^R,

"The Central Committee of the Chartist party has just perused, with the most profound attention, the noble statement which your Excellency has, this day, been pleased to forward to it.

"After mature deliberation, of which the result was a complete unanimity in our sentiments and opinions, we resolved again to address your Excellency, and to declare that every one of the principles established in your statement is in conformity with our own; and that the full and unlimited confidence which your Excellency may feel sure we place in your zeal and activity, in your love of the country, and in your high understanding, leads us to repeat that the Chartist party binds the Marquis de Saldanha to no conditions: it only begs that he will,

relying upon the most unswerving support of his admirers and political friends, take the first opportunity to save the Throne, preserve order, and secure existing institutions.

"After this formal declaration, it would perhaps be inopportune to repeat, in the name of the Nation (if we may be allowed to consider ourselves as its representatives), the expressions of the most ardent gratitude for so exalted an act of abnegation; which will, undoubtedly, re-establish the splendour of the Throne, and invigorate liberal and moderate principles in the shape they are accepted by all men of intelligence who love their country.

"Repeating the declaration of our highest consideration, and most profound gratitude, we have the honour to sign ourselves,

"Your Excellency's respectful and most

"obliged friends and servants, etc."

Shortly before this correspondence, Saldanha had received a letter from Cadiz, dated September 16, and addressed to him by Sr. J. J. Lopes de Lima, who writes: "I had an opportunity of conversing at length with the Count de Thomar, who shows himself more afflicted by the misfortunes of his country than by his own. 'Would that such a man,' said he, speaking of your Excellency, 'would really accept the noble mission of chief of the Chartist party; for, perhaps, only he, in present circumstances, with his sword of Oporto and of Almoster, can save the legacy of D. Pedro and the throne of the Queen. With the greatest good-will,' added he emphatically, 'would I be the most loyal soldier of his army: there is no labour which I would refuse; nor sacrifices which I would not make, in order to contribute to the restoration of order, and of the Charter; and to free Portugal from the hands of its scourges; but, on condition, that my name should not be spoken of. I may be useful, although far off; and I will be so, as soon as our party has, in Portugal, an intelligent and resolute chief.'"

Fortified thus by the unconditional adherence of the Chartist party, and seconded by the tacit support of the Cabralite section, Saldanha felt that he was now in a position to aid Palmella, who, he believed, was as anxious as himself to restrain

the ultra-liberals in their efforts to destroy the Charter and to overturn the Throne. Accordingly, towards the close of September, he went to the residence of Sr. Pinto de Magalhães, and requested him to inform the Duke that he was now willing and prepared to enter a Cabinet with him. Sr. Magalhães having remarked, that, as Saldanha was on good terms with Palmella, there was no reason why he should not acquaint him personally with his present offer, it was agreed that they should go together to the Duke's, that evening, for the purpose of making the communication. They went; and, in the presence of Srs. Reis e Vasconcellos and Pinto de Magalhães, Saldanha offered to enter a Cabinet with Palmella and three of his present colleagues. Great was his astonishment when, in reply to this proposal, the Duke stated that he now considered the entrance of Saldanha into the Cabinet to be impossible, even if four of the present Ministers remained.

Some doubts, at a subsequent period, were thrown on the circumstances attending this interview; and we have before us the correspondence which took place on the subject between Saldanha and Srs. Magalhães and Vasconcellos; but it is immaterial to our purpose to insert it.

A notion of the prudent conduct which Saldanha had observed, may be gathered from a letter which Sr. Moura Coutinho wrote to a friend on the 7th of July of the following year (1847). He states, that after the revolution in May (1846) which drove Count de Thomar from power, there had been plans for a counter revolution: and that, when Sr. Castilho waited upon the Marshal, on his arrival at Lisbon in July, with proposals to that effect, the Marshal not only assured him that he would lend himself to no project of reaction that did not emanate freely from the Palace, but convinced him both of the impropriety, as well as of the futility of any such attempt. Coutinho adds, that Palmella, at that period, was able to moderate, for the moment, the exigencies and excesses of Sá da Bandeira; who, on his entering the War Office, on the 19th of July, had commenced dismissing every officer of whose political principles he did not feel sure.

But affairs were now drawing to a climax. According to a

note in Saldanha's handwriting, the Prime Minister was completely coerced; he distrusted his colleagues, and he feared Das Antas. We have seen from the letters of Reis e Vasconcellos how greatly the "excesses" of the ultra-Setembristas "vexed" Palmella; and various letters declare how utterly his attempts to guide their opinions and actions had failed. We have also seen proved the weight Palmella attached to Saldanha's support of his administration, by his offering him, in his absence, the Offices, first of Foreign Affairs, and then of War. We have read his energetic remonstrance against Saldanha's resignation of the dignity of Councillor of State; and yet, when the Marshal announces his willingness to join him in the Cabinet, he declares that step inopportune.

The letters referred to at the close of the last chapter prove that the Ministers were well aware that the Miguelite party was preparing itself for the field. On the first of October, one Pontes was arrested in Lisbon; and in his house a quantity of arms and ammunition were found, together with some papers proving the existence of a vast Miguelite conspiracy, which was spread all over the Country. Palmella having acquainted the Queen with this fact, he was asked by her Majesty what he intended to do. His reply not being satisfactory, her Majesty expressed her desire that some modification in the Cabinet should be made; and remarked that she was informed that the Marquis de Saldanha was ready to enter the Ministry. The Duke replied that the state of the Capital would not allow of any reorganisation of the Ministry; but that he was ready to quit the Cabinet, if her Majesty considered it advisable that he should do so. Perceiving that her Majesty's intentions were to change her Ministers, he consented to keep those intentions a profound secret until the new Cabinet was formed. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, (October 4), Saldanha was called to the Palace at Belem by D. Manoel de Sousa, the brother of D. Maria das Dores, one of the Ladies in Waiting. On arriving there, and learning what had taken place, he pointed out to the Queen and to Palmella, that the garrison was officered by members of the revolutionary Clubs; that there were in Lisbon eighteen strong battalions of volunteers,

all favourable to the Government; and that he was totally unprepared to withstand the opposition that would be made to the dismissal of the Ministry. The Queen was in despair at the difficulties which presented themselves. It was frankly avowed, that any attempt to dismiss the Ministry would be met by an armed resistance, impossible to control.

One of the most extraordinary and daring measures that ever was taken to rescue a country from itself was now decided upon. "Your Majesty," said Saldanha, "desires that I should enter the Ministry. Appoint one, presided over by the Duke de Palmella, and I will willingly serve with him, provided my colleagues are such that I can approve." This Palmella declined to do; but urged upon Saldanha the necessity of himself undertaking the difficult task. "Well, then," said the Marshal, "this can only be done by taking the present Ministers by surprise. If the Duke will give me his word of honour, that he will observe the strictest secrecy as to my intentions, and not even mention them to the Duchess; and if he will engage to be in readiness to come when called to the Palace, and countersign my nomination as Minister of War, I will immediately proceed to see what can be done." To this Palmella agreed. On the 6th of October, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the Marshal presented himself at Belem, where he found the Queen and Sr. D. Fernando walking in the garden accompanied by M. Dietz and Padre Marcos. He assured their Majesties, that he had taken every step in his power to enable the Ministerial change to be effected with safety; and that he was prepared at once and without delay to carry out their plans. He then read the proclamation which he proposed should be published in the name of the Queen; and, having done so, he addressed her Majesty as follows:—"Madame. It becomes my duty to tell your Majesty, that if I do not succeed, or do not meet my death in the attempt, I shall inevitably be shot on the morrow; and your Majesty will be driven from the country." M. Dietz, on hearing this, immediately exclaimed: "Oh! then, it is better to let things remain as they are." Upon this her Majesty, turning towards Saldanha, said, "Send him to a nunnery;" and added, "Sooner will I lose the Crown than continue to

reign insulted and calumniated day after day. If you deem it necessary, I am ready this instant to mount my horse and accompany you to the nearest barracks."

Palmella, who, faithful to his promise, had observed the strictest secrecy, was sent for about nine o'clock at night. On his arrival at the Palace, he, as President of the still-existing Ministry, countersigned the Decrees appointing Saldanha Minister of War, and exonerating Sá da Bandeira from that office. At the same time, the Queen put her name to the Proclamation of which we now give an abridgment.

"PORTUGUESE!

"The clamours, which from every part daily reached my Throne, filled my heart with sorrow: all my ideas and meditations were consecrated to the re-establishment of public prosperity, which had received such a violent shock.

"After having duly weighed in my mind the extreme gravity of the present situation, and the abyss into which the succession of events menaced to precipitate shortly the Throne of my forefathers, and the institutions established by my father, and, as a necessary consequence, the existence of this nation, I resolved on putting a term to such calamities. With this purpose, I called to my counsels men in whom I trust, to aid me in executing the arduous task imposed on me by the extreme love I feel for the people whom Providence has placed under my direction. The instructions I have given them are conveyed in a few words, which I cannot but trust will be hailed by all my generous, intelligent, and faithful subjects.

"It is not given to man to set aside great events in the history of a nation;—they must be recognized and respected. Of this nature was the popular movement which took place in the Province of Minho, but which was altered and misrepresented in other parts of the monarchy. The change which I now make in the Administration does not therefore constitute a reaction against that popular movement, but solely against the excesses for which it served as a pretext.

"The people asked only for the repeal of the tributary

system, of the sanitary law, and for the removal of Ministers to whom they attributed their supposed grievances. These concessions were made, and shall be maintained.

"But the people could not wish that the Code of their liberties should be involved in the proscription; and this was proved by the manifestations made during the movement, when the Charter was ever invoked and respected.

"This is most grateful to my feelings, which would have been intensely wounded to see the sacred compact which unites me to my people torn or trodden under foot.

"The giver of the Charter, himself recognized the changes which time and experience have proved to be necessary. I reject, however, the excess of authority which does not belong to me, and it shall not be by a mere Decree* that I shall cause the fundamental law of the Monarchy to be altered. I will consequently command my Ministers to bring about this revision by the means established in the Charter itself.

"With full confidence in the virtues of the Portuguese people, I trust they will rally round my Throne, and aid me in our just object.

"Most glorious and memorable will be the day in which I see the members of the Portuguese family, forgetful of their old disagreements, embrace each other, never more to separate. The realization of this object is dependent on the fulfilment of justice and duty.

"Let the empire of morality be proclaimed as a first necessity; let the principles worthy of deference be respected; let merit and virtue be the only title to preferment; let the strictest economy be established in the public service; let every past denomination of parties be forgotten; and let the most ample toleration be exercised towards all political opinions; let contracts be respected; and, without doubt, a more brilliant prospect will dawn on this blessed spot in the universe.

"It is my intention to ordain that persons zealous of the public

* In allusion to the illegal Decree, dated July 27, 1846, which the Septembrist Ministry had compelled the Queen to sign, contrary to the law of the Charter then in force, but which the Ministers had thought proper to alter for electioneering purposes.

service be sent without delay to the provinces, in the capacity of Commissioners, to learn the nature of the complaints and grievances of the people, in order to enable me to remedy them.

"It being, lastly, my most urgent desire to prevent excesses of any kind whatever, it is my Royal wish that it be known that the inflexibility of justice shall fall on all, whatever may be their political opinions, who endeavour to substitute the empire of terror for that of morality, &c.

"PALACE OF BELEM, *October* 6, 1846.

"(Manu Regia) RAINHA.
"(Signed) MARQUEZ DE SALDANHA.
"VISCONDE DE OLIVEIRA.
"D. MANOEL DE PORTUGAL E CASTRO.
"JOSÉ JACINTO VALENTE FARINHO."

Upon Palmella being informed by Saldanha, in the presence of their Majesties, that the Queen had been pleased to approve of the Presidency of the Cabinet being again confided to him, together with the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs, he refused the offer, alleging that, if he continued in office after having kept secrecy as to what had taken place, he would be looked upon as a traitor by his colleagues. Saldanha then proposed Viscount da Carreira for Foreign Affairs, pointing out to Palmella the probability of that diplomatist refusing to serve; in which case the Duke (as it was understood) promised to accept the vacant post after a few weeks had elapsed.

The next step was to send for the Count do Bomfim, who was in command of the 1st Division; and, after precautions had been taken that neither he nor his Aides-de-Camp should quit the Palace, he was informed that the Queen had dismissed Sá from the War Office, and that Saldanha now occupied his place. The new Minister, having shewn the Queen's Proclamation to Bomfim, proposed that he should continue in his command. But, notwithstanding the Queen was pleased to express the same desire, he tendered his resignation, which Saldanha was, most unwillingly, compelled to accept; for he had fully counted on that General's gratitude and loyalty to the Queen, and on his willingness to assist in preserving order. He then wrote to

Das Antas, acquainting him with the change of Ministry, and the Queen's wish that he should retain his military command in the northern provinces. To the refusal of these Generals to support the royal authority must be ascribed the Civil War, and many of the misfortunes which shortly befel the country.

Palmella having promised to remain at the Palace until Saldanha sent him word that he could pass with safety through the streets, the Marshal left the Palace, in order to take every step which the emergency required; and, by day-break, the new order of things was established without opposition.

Serious indeed must have been the state of affairs which required, in a constitutional country, such unusual, and, we may add, such extraordinary measures as those we have narrated. But Saldanha was well aware of their necessity; and even Palmella himself—the President of the Ministry that was to be dismissed—must already have felt convinced that the ultimate aim of the ultra party, and of those who supported it, was the dethronement of the Queen.

Of Saldanha's movements during these 3 days, we have little information; but they must have been accompanied by intense anxiety and a continual struggle with difficulties. In a letter to Col. Wylde, which we possess, he declares that some 400 individuals had to be admitted more or less to his confidence, and that no one among them was wanting in loyalty.

When the decisive moment arrived, Saldanha's first care was to place his wife in safety. She went to Oeiras, some 9 miles from Lisbon, and there awaited the result of her husband's bold and patriotic undertaking. With what intense satisfaction must she have read the following hurried note, forwarded to her at day-break on the 7th:

"MY DEAR WIFE,

"Thank God Almighty all is finished and well. We are now taking the arms from the National Guard. On that account, it would be better for you to remain still, to-night, at Oeiras. Kiss the children and my sister. Adieu.

"Yours,

"SALDANHA."

We must confess our utter inability to explain the line followed by Palmella at this very critical period, in such a manner as we should desire. It is difficult to understand how he could ever have allowed himself to be in accord with the Setembristas. In justice to him, we here insert his own account of what took place at the Royal Palace on the 4th and 6th of October:—

"LISBON, *June 12th*, 1848.

"As an addition to the Minutes of the Council of State held on the 15th of last June, an extract from which, by virtue of her Most Faithful Majesty's Resolution in Council of June 21st, has been confided to me, I beg her Majesty to grant me the insertion of the following explanatory remarks, which are an exact reproduction of the verbal statement, which I have already had the honour of making to the Council of State.

"When her Majesty, on October 4th, 1846, was pleased to call upon me to declare if I felt myself with means and strength sufficient for effecting a change of system, and for averting the evils which her Majesty considered imminent to the Nation and the security of the Throne, I respectfully requested our Lady the Queen to inform me what the system was which in her Majesty's opinion ought to be adopted. The answer I received, for the correctness of which I invoke the Royal testimony, was, that it ought to be *the exact reverse of that which the Ministry had followed down to that moment.* In consequence of this reply, and the formal declaration it contained, I felt myself forced to state that it would be impracticable, to myself and my colleagues, to adopt a system opposed to that which we had followed down to that time; insomuch that we felt convinced that it was the most suitable for the circumstances of the country, the welfare of the Nation, and her Majesty's service; and I added, that, from my own point of view, I considered that the proposed change of system might, eventually, disturb the public tranquillity, and even the security of the Throne. I offered some further observations tending to manifest my expectation, that the proximate elections would result in a majority of individuals of moderate and loyal opinions, in spite of the demagogical programmes and de-

clamations of the more noisy agitators; and in spite of the violent opposition of the other extreme party, which was combating the Ministry and exercised a large amount of influence. It was after this, that, in obedience to a question put to me by her Majesty, and not as a counsel offered spontaneously by myself, I remarked that, if her Majesty wished to form another Ministry, she could, perhaps, address the Duke de Saldanha * for that purpose.

"Finally, her Majesty expressed a desire that I should observe complete silence as to what had passed, until she should be pleased to convey to me her royal resolution. I considered it my duty to fulfil that desire, without excepting a single person; feeling convinced that my colleagues, whom I included in this general rule, would do justice to the purity of my intentions, as eventually they did; and feeling that it was to the interest of their principles and their honour, as well as of my own, that I should be in a position to solemnly declare, (if unfortunately anything should occur to prevent the free exercise of the Royal Prerogative), that it could not be attributed to indiscretion on our part; since the Royal intentions had not been divulged by me to a single living being. I was fortified in this resolution —a resolution I am far from regretting, in spite of the censures it has drawn upon me from those from whom I ought least to have expected them—by the reflection that her Majesty's intentions might, for some reason, suffer alteration; and, by the persuasion I was very naturally under, that, if a change of Ministry was resolved upon, it would be announced to me with sufficient anticipation to admit of my communicating it to my colleagues.

"These explanatory remarks, entered upon the Minutes of the highest Tribunal in this Kingdom, have one sole object; namely, to prove the truth of my public assertions, and to show that, under the important and critical circumstances we are treating of, I neither betrayed the Queen, nor my duty, nor my colleagues in the Ministry.

"DUQUE DE PALMELLA."

Lord Howard de Walden, again at his post at Lisbon, upon

* Marquis, at the period referred to.

these events occurring, immediately gave information of them to his Government. He wrote on the 8th of October to Lord Palmerston :—

"This change of Government has taken most people by surprise. It was known that a short time ago the Duke de Palmella was willing to transfer the Government to the hands of the Marquis de Saldanha; but it was also certain that the latter then felt that he had no force of his own, and that he should be made a mere instrument to serve the ends of the Cabralista party, by whom he would ultimately be sacrificed, when it might suit their purpose. Under these circumstances, for want of a chief, the Cabralista party were unable to carry out their designs for a counter revolution, for which they had been so long working among the troops.

"It appears, however, that the programme,* which I herewith enclose, of the Setembrista party, created such alarm, that, in the emergency, the Marquis of Saldanha at last consented, though very unwillingly, to undertake the formation of a new Government."

Lord Howard narrates that the Duke da Terceira appeared at the head of the troops, in the "Black Horse Square," on the following morning, (the 7th); and that such were the prudent and skilful measures which Saldanha had taken, and with such secrecy, that the change of Ministry was effected without any disturbance of public quiet. Lord Howard continues :

"I contemplate the future with great anxiety. The elements for revolution of a character dangerous to the Queen have now certainly been created; and though the efforts of the party vanquished may not, in immediate result, be effective in Lisbon, they will not fail to work successfully towards serious mischief in the provinces.

"I am confident that the Marshal Saldanha is animated with the best spirit; and that, if suspicion of his acts does not interfere and deprive him of a fair trial as a Minister, he will succeed in neutralizing much opposition; but I fear the impression of his being identified with a Cabralista counter-revolution will be

* Although printed only on the 5th of October, it had been for some time previously privately circulated.

so generally believed, in consequence of the unusual character given to the proceedings connected with the change of Government, that the standard will be attempted to be at once raised against him, without allowing time for observation.

"I have, however, had a full and perfectly satisfactory explanation from the Marquis of Saldanha as to his intentions, and of his determination not to be made a tool of any party; and of his firm resolution not to allow the influence of the Cabralistas either to predominate in the Council, or to interfere with his policy of bringing together persons of other parties, who may be disposed to rally round him in support of principles of moderation, justice and economy.

"The Marshal informs me, that he has received most encouraging assurances from influential members of various shades of political opinions, which inspire him with the fullest confidence."

On the 7th of October, Saldanha had officially made known to Lord Howard the change of Ministry, in the following words:—

"The Duke de Palmella having represented to her Majesty the Queen the continual and numerous obstacles which prevented the Ministry, of which he was President, from proceeding in the administration of the country,* her Majesty, after

* When this document was made public in the following year, the Duke de Palmella was not satisfied with the expressions regarding himself which the Marshal had made use of; and they led to some controversy. It was natural that the Duke should have wished to exculpate himself with his late colleagues. But, as he frankly acknowledges, in an angry letter to D. Manoel de Portugal, that he kept from them, for two days, the secret of the projected change of Administration and their dismissal, we may naturally conclude that both the Queen and Saldanha had reason to believe that the Duke felt the imperative necessity of the change, and of the manner in which it was to be effected. The same letter sets at rest the absurd rumour of Palmella having been imprisoned in the Palace. For, he himself informs us, that when Saldanha left the Queen on his hazardous mission to the barracks, in order to secure the adherence of the troops, he agreed to remain there as a measure of precaution for his own personal safety, until such time as the Marshal should inform him that the *Coup d'État* had met with success. But, whether from the neglect of the messenger employed, or from the Marshal's forgetfulness, he adds, that he remained in expectancy until the following morning.

mature deliberation, resolved on forming a new Government, and has been pleased to appoint me President of the Council of Ministers, Minister and Secretary of State for the War Department, and, *ad interim*, for Foreign Affairs."

The other appointments were as follows :—

Home . . .	VISCOUNT DE OLIVEIRA.
Finance . . .	do do. (*ad interim*).
Marine . . .	D. MANOEL DE PORTUGAL.
Justice. . . .	SR. J. J. VALENTE FARINHO.

On the 9th, Lord Howard wrote again to Lord Palmerston :—

"I do not myself apprehend much resistance at present to the Government. . . . . A more honourable, well-disposed, and conciliatory man than the Marquis does not exist in Portugal; and whatever political errors he may commit as to judgment, they cannot be ascribed in any way to the same spirit of political persecution, which unfortunately characterized the administration of the two Cabrals, and which exasperated the people.

"The Marshal, of all the statesmen in Portugal, is the one best looked upon by the moderate Miguelites.

"I offered to the Marshal to abandon my projected departure from Lisbon at this moment, should he consider that he was exposed to any great dangers or difficulties, in regard to which I could be of assistance. He expressed himself, however, so confident, considering the complete support he relied upon at Court, and the assurances he received from all sides, that, notwithstanding the satisfaction (he was kind enough to express) it would have been to him, to have had me by his side, he did not feel warranted, in exacting such a sacrifice from me, on public grounds."

On the 11th, the following proclamation against the Queen was printed and circulated. Lord Howard left for England on the 12th, and took with him a copy of it, which he presented to Lord Palmerston.

"PORTUGUESE! The Revolution of the Minho—the most glorious revolution of the Portuguese nation—has been betrayed

by the Sovereign! Do not believe her! Observe that she lies as she always has.

"Portuguese! Know that the Queen, the Chief of the State, who ought to be the first to respect the opinion of the people—with words of peace in her mouth and poison in her heart—went out into the streets and made open war upon the nation. Not satisfied with the blood and bones on which her throne is founded, she continues to make more victims. This vampire still desires more blood; and thus this tigress pays the unhappy people who bestowed on her a throne!

"Portuguese! You will gain nothing by retaining this viper in your bosom: she must either respect your rights, or let her undergo the fate of Louis XVI., who was even less guilty!

"Portuguese! Your Queen affirms that she wishes for peace; but she allows her janizaries to murder and rob as they are now doing!

"Portuguese! to arms! otherwise you will be shot or transported; and let your new war-cry be, Long live D. Pedro V.!

"Death to tyranny, and to those who, under a Charter—a shield for their infamy—oppress us!"

On the departure of Lord Howard, Mr. Southern remained as Chargé d'Affaires. That gentleman, in his despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated October 14th, (doubtless not aware that Lord Howard had received a copy of the preceding proclamation at the moment of his departure), writes: "I asked the Marshal to show me a copy of this document; but he said that on reading it, his indignation was so great that he tore it to pieces." It was Mr. Southern's policy to throw a doubt upon the existence of such a proclamation.

By a Royal Decree, dated October 6th, the Duke da Terceira received powers, as the Queen's Lieutenant, to maintain order in the city of Oporto, and in the northern Provinces. He did not quit Lisbon until the night of the 8th; and only on the afternoon of the 9th, did he disembark from the *Mindello*, and land at Oporto, accompanied by some Generals and other officers. The delay was unfortunate. Added to this, instead of his landing with the secrecy so necessary on the occasion, the War

Steamer made its appearance off Oporto with the Royal Pennant flying. To complete the measure of the Duke's carelessness, instead of hastening at once to the principal barracks, in order to assert his authority, and, may be, to decide any wavering feelings on the part of the troops, he proceeded to the residence of the Viscount de S. Gil, where he dined. This further delay gave opportunity to the partisans of the rebellion to excite the people and troops to a successful mutiny, by which the Duke and his companions were seized and imprisoned in the Castle of Foz.

Das Antas, who had been in command of the northern Provinces, immediately left Braga, and arrived on the 11th at Oporto, where he established a rebel Junta. His example was followed by the Marquis de Loulé at Coimbra; and so rapidly did the rebellion now spread, that, (as the English Chargé d'Affaires wrote to Lord Palmerston), even at Cintra—but fourteen miles from Lisbon—a mob of some 1200 peasants drove away the small force that was there, with cries of "Long live D. Miguel," and "Death to the Queen."

Mr. Southern acquaints Lord Palmerston, that he had written to Admiral Parker, suggesting an increase of the British force in the Tagus; not only for the protection of the Queen, but because "in case of a reverse, the mob would certainly rise in Lisbon; and should the Capital be beset, as is probable, by the hordes of discontented peasantry said to be assembling in the neighbouring districts, neither British property, nor the lives of British subjects would be made an exception." He further states, on the 16th, that the Algarves had declared in favour of the Revolution; and that a Junta had been established at Faro, as well as at Beja, the Capital of the Alemtejo; but that, nevertheless, Marshal Saldanha still expressed himself with confidence of success.

It is, perhaps, to be regretted, that Saldanha had not accepted the generous offer of Lord Howard to remain at his post, at Lisbon, during the coming strife. By Lord Howard's long acquaintance with all parties in Portugal, and his real knowledge of their respective views, much misrepresentation would have been avoided, which Mr. Southern, either in his ignorance

or influenced by his own political feelings, made to his Government at home. It might appear, that there was something more than unintentional misrepresentation or exaggeration, when Mr. Southern writes to Lord Palmerston, on the 22nd of October, and states; that the "Ministry was changed in the middle of the night, when the chief of the late Government (Palmella) was supposed to have been kept a prisoner all night in the Palace itself, and his signature to his own resignation forced from him, as is commonly believed." Could Mr. Southern himself have believed such an absurdity respecting the free action of the Duke de Palmella? In the same despatch, he declares that "the example of Oporto has been followed by nearly the whole of the Provinces of the Minho, Traz-os-Montes, and the two Beiras. The two Capitals of the Alemtejo, Beja and Evora, are in open rebellion; as also Portalegre and other towns of Alemtejo; the castle of Marvão having been surprised. The Algarves have also joined the movement, and there are Juntas in all its principal towns, as well as in those of the Alemtejo. A Junta even exists so near to Lisbon as Cintra; and its authority extends to within a short distance of Lisbon. . . . . There exist some formidable guerilla parties composed of the most adventurous peasants, smugglers, discharged soldiery, and deserters. Of these there are two bodies in the Alemtejo, commanded by two farmers and breeders of cattle, one named Galamba and the other Batalha. Together these guerillas have about 500 men." Mr. Southern further states, that Sr. José Estevão, the deputy, is said to have a guerilla of some 600 men at Alcobaça; that other battalions of peasants and artisans had been formed at various places; and that Sr. Castro had written to Das Antas to say, that he has under his command a disposable corps of 1500 men.

It is remarkable, that to none of these bodies in revolt does Mr. Southern ascribe a Miguelite origin. He makes no allusion to that party in the whole lengthy despatch, except in the following extract, where he attempts to discredit the Marshal's opinion.

"Marshal Saldanha and other individuals connected with the Government, are endeavouring to give this struggle a Miguelite

character. I have made every enquiry to ascertain how far this is correct; and I have no hesitation in saying it is an erroneous view of the movement." It is difficult to put a favourable construction on this assertion of the diplomatist. After remarking in this same despatch, that Saldanha is displaying extraordinary activity; and is organizing and arming the citizens of all classes in Lisbon; he adds, that "should the party now in arms against Marshal Saldanha's Government succeed to power, the Ministry will be formed of ultra-Setembristas, who have, for the present,* adopted the cry of 'the Queen and the Charter';" and he concludes with the following estimate of the part taken by the troops of the eight Military Divisions.

Proximate —In favour of the Government . . .	3,955
,, ,, ,, Revolution . . .	6,295
Doubtful or vacillating . . .	1,390
Total †	11,640

Marshal Saldanha was well informed of the powerful means employed to procure a general rising in favour of D. Miguel. The author of these pages, at that time in London, was himself aware of the sanguine hopes which were there entertained by Miguelite Agents; and of the secret meetings between them and a certain diplomatist, whose Sovereign had engaged to find money to support the cause of D. Miguel. His observations were more than confirmed by the unwary conduct of a friend, much in the confidence of the said diplomatist, who imprudently betted with the author, that D. Miguel would be king, in Portugal, before the expiration of six months.

To avoid this danger, and to spare the shedding of Portuguese blood in Civil War, Saldanha's Government reminded the three other Parties to the Quadruple Treaty of the probable necessity for their interference. This Alliance, it may be remembered, had been made at London, in 1834, between England, France,

* The expression "for the present" is significant, and implies danger both to Queen and Charter.

† We shall shortly learn how incorrect was this statement.

Portugal, and Spain, for the purpose of expelling the Pretenders from the two latter countries, then, or at any future period.

In consequence of Mr. Southern's ignorance, or incredulity, respecting the intentions of the Miguelite partisans, Saldanha addressed a note to him, on the 22nd of October, wherein he clearly pointed out how far the movements of the Miguelites had already extended. Some jealousy lest the independent interference of Spain should be solicited, and granted without waiting for that of England, doubtless influenced Mr. Southern; he disbelieving the immediate necessity for such aid. Measures were however taken, at Mr. Southern's request, to secure the safety of the Queen in case of personal danger; and a Squadron, under Admiral Parker, made its appearance off the Tagus on the 29th.

A Royal Decree, on the 17th of October, had appointed the King, Sr. D. Fernando, to be Commander-in-chief of the forces.

Count do Bomfim, although he had declined the military command which had been offered to him, continued to remain in Lisbon. On the 24th, he addressed the following friendly letter to Saldanha:—

"CALÇADA DA AJUDA,
"*24th of October*, 1846.

"MY DEAR MARSHAL AND FRIEND,

"I thank your Excellency for sending me the letters which came by the packet; and for the many proofs of consideration and friendship, which are contained in the letter your Excellency had the kindness to write. Not wishing to be troublesome, I conclude, repeating that I am

"Your Excellency's friend,
"And much obliged comrade,
"BOMFIM."

Will it not surprise the reader to learn, that General Bomfim, in company with Mousinho, his former adversary on the battle field in 1837, was seen, on the day after the above letter was

written, riding outside the gates of Lisbon on his way to join the rebel forces!

We learn from Mr. Southern, that, on the 29th, the King passed in review the garrison of Lisbon, amounting to "about 3000 men in excellent order." He also stated that Das Antas was at Leiria marching towards the Capital.

A paper was secretly printed in Lisbon at this time, October 23rd, called "The state of the Question," in which the most violent language was employed. The King was attacked for having assumed the command of the Army; and for "having thrust his sword into one of the scales of parties." The article continues:—

"The Palace is incorrigible; it always conspires. Let us not credit coercion. A Queen who declares herself in a state of coercion six months in the year is no longer a Queen. . . . . The Palace is the Den of Cacus, where all plotters meet. . . . . In fact, either the Revolution falls by a repetition of the Bacchanal of the 6th October, or the Queen must abdicate. She must retire, for the present, from public business, with her husband and with the master Dietz, both of whom are the cause of not a few revolutions, and of the state of anarchy in which the country is now placed. This spontaneous abdication will be the only constitutional act of the reign of D. Maria II.

"Any other act would not put an end to the war; it would merely protract it. It would only tend to subject liberty to greater dangers, the dynasty to great perils, and the country to convulsions, which may put an end to its existence.

"This is the state of the Question."

By a Decree of the 27th of this month, signed by the Queen and all the Ministers, her Majesty assumed full authority and powers while the present state of affairs should exist; the Ministers were to be held responsible, in their several departments, for all measures they should adopt; and would present to the Cortes, at their first meeting, a report of the use they had made of their authority.

On the formation of the Ministry, Saldanha had offered the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs to his former adversary, the Chev.

Lima, now Viscount da Carreira, and occupying the post of Minister at Paris. He however declined to quit the ease and pleasures of a diplomatist's life, for the toils and dangers attending office in his own country.

Although Lord Howard was, unfortunately, absent from Lisbon, he was enabled to do Saldanha good service in England. He writes to him :—

[*Private and Confidential.*]

"LONDON, *Oct.* 31, 1846.

"MY DEAR MARSHAL,

"Your two letters of the 16th inst. caused me the greatest anxiety. I have had conversations with the Queen, Prince Albert and Lord Palmerston on the subject of the present state of things in Portugal, and nothing can exceed the interest taken about the present crisis.

"Colonel Wylde has been selected to proceed at once to Portugal. He will go first to Oporto. You will understand by *his* being sent how anxious all parties are to do everything that is practicable. He is not only a most intelligent and discreet officer, but Equerry to Prince Albert, and *entirely trusted* by Lord Palmerston. As regards myself, you will recollect his former relations with *me*, and I have only to beg you to trust him implicitly in *every thing*. He goes out in the character of a Military Commissioner, to report to our Government the state of things connected with this struggle. Open your mind to him without hesitation; and believe in his most sincere desire to co-operate with you in doing everything that can help you. The appointment was made in consultation with me; and I can assure you that a *better choice* in every respect could not have been made. He stands in lieu of me, for such peculiar intercourse as you would have maintained with me, had I been in Portugal, or been remaining in England.

"Moncorvo has evinced great activity and zeal; and you will hear fully from him. Every success attend you. With my prayers for the success of the Queen's good cause,

"Your most sincere friend,

"HOWARD DE WALDEN."

Lord Palmerston, on the 30th of October, directed Colonel Wylde to proceed to Oporto, in the *Cyclops* steamer, in order to endeavour to persuade Das Antas, "at the head of an armed force in revolt against the Queen's troops," to submit at once to the royal authority. "You will strongly represent to the Count," writes Lord Palmerston in his instructions, "the hopelessness of ultimate success in his revolt against the Queen's authority; and the serious consequences which always follow a pertinacious perseverance in attempts of such a nature, whenever their failure shall have come to pass; and you will impress upon him the expediency of averting such consequences by a spontaneous and timely submission." Colonel Wylde is also desired to urge Das Antas, in the strongest terms, to set the Duke da Terceira free, even if Das Antas himself should not decide to lay down his arms.

From the observations of Lord Palmerston, we may infer that he saw, in a true light, the object of this rebellion; and, moreover, that he judged it was one not likely to be quickly suppressed. He was well aware of the Miguelite agencies at work; and he knew that the objects of the so-called liberal party had been something more than the expulsion of the Count de Thomar from power, or the repeal of his measures which the Septembrists had incited the people to disapprove of. The angry feeling shown by the Septembrists against Thomar, was probably rendered more bitter by the reflection, that he was once a foremost leader amongst themselves. To this the Count would doubtless have replied, that he quitted that party, when he was convinced that its aims were inconsistent with the preservation and security of a monarchical government. Thomar was still at Cadiz, where a report reached him that the Government had determined upon not allowing him to land, should he desire to return to Lisbon. A friendly correspondence on the subject took place between him and Saldanha, which ended in the Count declaring himself perfectly satisfied with the explanation he received. The Queen's Government then offered him the Legation at Madrid, where it was considered he might render good service to the Queen's cause. Thomar accepted the appointment without hesitation; and the Decree of his

nomination was signed on the 3rd of November. To his predecessor, Baron de Renduffe, the Mission at Rio de Janeiro was offered; as it was not thought desirable that a diplomatist, who was so much identified with the late Government, should, under present circumstances, remain at a post so important as that of Madrid.

Saldanha continued at Lisbon organizing his measures for future operations; and the activity he displayed and the enthusiasm he created were the theme of general admiration. To enable the reader to appreciate, in some degree, what was going forward amongst the rebels, we cannot do better than conclude this Chapter with an extract from the correspondence of a London daily paper.

"COIMBRA, *Oct.* 31, 1846.

"What I stated in my letter of the 24th with regard to the National Guard of this city is verified; for they have refused to leave Coimbra, where they say they will preserve tranquillity. The efforts of their commander were vain. Scarcely five men stepped forward to proceed to the 'conquest' of Lisbon, and were immediately hooted back by their comrades. The truth impels me to say, that, with the exception of a few officers and soldiers, this corps has been our best support and safeguard in Coimbra. I shall now mention some facts which characterize our revolutionary Government. Beds were wanted for the *guerrilleros;* and the miserable patients were turned out of the hospitals in order that their mattresses and blankets might be given up to these malefactors. It cut our hearts to see the streets filled with men full of wounds and fever, without protection or asylum. This inhumanity has irritated the inhabitants generally.

"The greatest violence has been resorted to to procure money. The public coffers have been robbed. 600 dollars were taken from the University coffer. Stores have been broken open to take out the owners' property. They have done this at Condeixa, and they say they will do the same at Coimbra, wherever capitalists or proprietors have declined to yield to their threats. In their desperation against the in-

habitants of the city, they have promised money to those who will denounce their masters as disaffected to the revolt. Conde das Antas goes about continually followed by an extensive Staff; ordering marches and counter-marches of the troops, and endeavouring to deceive the public by gross and miserable frauds. One of those days, he ordered the 7th Regiment, quartered in this city, to go out early in the morning without drums or music, pass the night at Cellas and Lorvão, and re-enter on the following day. The news was then circulated that new troops were coming in from Oporto. Rockets were sent up and bells rung, when the same 7th Regiment was seen re-entering!

"Count das Antas's great army diffuses the greatest consternation amongst the people by its insubordination and want of every provision. It is composed of two small brigades, commanded by the renegades Baron de Fornos and Colonel Horta. In front, marches the 'strong' Academic battalion, consisting of 100 in all, together with a few of the more daring guerillas. Of these, Count Taipa and Cesar de Vasconcellos are the leaders. But they have the dissatisfaction of seeing the number of their subjects diminish daily, more than 100 having fled a day or two since, which caused some to be put in irons and others flogged; while they ordered another body, which seemed about to fly, to be fired on, from which there resulted some killed and wounded. All in this city are in dread of their lives. The great majority of the inhabitants, including all the leading professions, hate the anarchists. This letter will be posted at several leagues' distance. Saldanha's policy of allowing the insurgents time to become utterly demoralized appears on the point of being realized."

CHAPTER V.

1846 CONCLUDED.

Great crisis—Review of Saldanha's previous career—Miguelite movements—Saldanha appointed Queen's Lieutenant—He is created a Duke—The Decree—Intrigues of Palmella—Fronteira's opinion of his proceedings—Saldanha leaves Lisbon—Colonel Wylde goes to Oporto—He visits Saldanha—His conferences with the Rebel Chiefs—Law revived against irregular forces—Southern remonstrates—Saldanha's reply—His despatch to the King Consort—Another to the Home Minister—Southern's despatches to Lord Palmerston — Macdonell in arms for D. Miguel — Effect of Southern's misrepresentations—Gross language in the House of Commons—Queen Victoria's apology to D. Maria—Happy reply—Reports from Consul Johnston—Activity of the Rebels—Alliance of the Miguelites with them—Mr. Bulwer to Lord Palmerston—Isturitz's note—Extracts from Saldanha's notes to his wife—Private notes from the Minister of War—From Count de Thomar—Colonel Wylde to Lord Palmerston—Saldanha to the Minister—Surrender of Bomfim and his Army at Torres Vedras—Saldanha's despatches to the Minister and to the King Consort—Wylde to Palmerston on same subject—Congratulations received by Saldanha—Extracts from letters to his wife.

SALDANHA had never encountered a crisis like the present. From his boyhood, indeed, his life had been a life of action engaged with difficulties, during which he had played many parts, and had discharged varied duties. His youth carried him through the Peninsular War. In his early manhood he administered a vast and important Province,—the idol of its inhabitants and the trusted of his Sovereign,—until he threw down his office, with all its emoluments, powers, and influences, solely because he was more loyal than that Sovereign's son. Returning to his own country, he inaugurated a constitutional and representative system. Exiled by a usurping Government, against which he had vainly warned his Sovereign, he again returned to lead that country's armies to victory, and to expel the Usurper from the Throne. His diplomatic missions were not mere courtier visits at foreign Legations, but were on

occasions of great perplexity and national peril, in which he saved Portugal from invasion and from the loss of her colonies. As soldier, administrator, minister, commanding armies, senator, diplomatist,—in Courts or in the battle field,—twice an exile, once in prison, Saldanha had passed through every vicissitude of life—short of a Throne. Still, he never felt appalled by danger, nor ever yielded to despair. He now, at the entreaty of the Queen, undertook to rescue Portugal from itself. It was no longer a conflict between Charter and Constitution, between this political party and that. The elements into which the Portuguese body politic was broken up, were indeed ranged under the nominal leadership of different parties; but that Babel of Irreconcilables made itself heard in threats, more or less loud, of mischief. Broken up under every shade of opinion, one set of Septembrists desired to reduce the sovereignty of the Queen to little more than a name; another were ready to depose the Queen and to declare for her son D. Pedro; while an expectant party were waiting to set up a Republic. But all, all alike showed a disposition to refer the problem of their domestic government to the arbitrament of arms. Meanwhile, even in the Capital, and generally throughout the Provinces, the Miguelites were bestirring themselves, and, in many places, were under arms. They formed, perhaps, the most dangerous feature of the situation, swayed by the same instincts which misled them during that Civil War which, crushed by Saldanha at Almoster, was terminated at Evora Monte. The influence of their leaders was responded to by masses of insurgent peasantry, who joined their hordes to the more disciplined forces in arms against the Government; while bands of guerillas had already begun to ravage outlying districts, and had shown themselves even at Cintra, within fourteen miles of the Capital. The Miguelites were themselves a power; but when the reader is informed that the Septembrists were prepared to make common cause with their political opposites — quasi-republicans with absolutists—he may well question the possibility of Saldanha, with his reduced army, restoring order to the State, and bringing harmony out of chaos.

On the 1st of November, the Queen signed "Royal Letters"

by which (in consequence of the imprisonment of the Duke da Terceira, and of his inability to use the Powers with which he had been intrusted) the Marquis de Saldanha was appointed her Majesty's Lieutenant in the northern Provinces. It being indispensable, under present circumstances, that prompt measures should be taken independent of orders from the central Government, and that special powers should be conferred on Saldanha for that purpose, the following comprehensive words were added to the Commission.

"I nominate you my Lieutenant in the said Provinces with full power to govern as circumstances may require; confident, from the eminent zeal which distinguishes you in my own and the country's service, that you will successfully carry out the important mission I confide to you."

On the 4th of the same month, the Queen was pleased to confer on the Marquis de Saldanha the title of Duke.

The Decree of his nomination is couched in grateful terms, and awards a just homage to his merits. It refers to the Marshal's brilliant heroical deeds on the battle-field in support of the Throne and of the Constitutional Charter, and to his continued important services, both as President of the Cabinet, and Secretary of State for War, and for Foreign Affairs, as well as to the ability with which he executed, with well-recognized advantage to the country, important diplomatic missions at the Courts of London, Madrid, and Vienna. Passing to the present period, in which, "The Throne and the fundamental Code of the country's liberties were dangerously threatened by demagogical excesses, and by the propagation of principles and teachings which tended to subvert the reigning Dynasty, and public order and prosperity," it acknowledges the zeal and energy with which now, and at all times, Saldanha had suppressed revolts and saved the country from anarchy. "For these reasons," the Decree continues, "and wishing to give to one so illustrious, a proof of my high appreciation of his loyalty, and of those distinguished services which are so consistent with the duties of his high birth, and with those of his noble and honourable character, I confer on the said Marquis the title of Duke de Saldanha."

The enemies of the Queen, in open arms in the field, were numerous. Oporto was in the hands of the rebels. Das Antas was now at Santarem with what Lord Palmerston described as, "the forces in revolt against their Sovereign;" while it pleased Mr. Southern to call them the "popular" forces. This small diplomatist pertinaciously showed himself adverse to the Queen's party and Government. Bomfim, Sá, Loulé, Fernando Villa Real, and many others, of less conspicuous rank, were stirring up rebellion in various parts of the country. The presence of the Marshal, during the month of October, had been necessary in Lisbon, where he had actively organized the well-affected citizens into volunteer corps, in order to resist any sudden attack of the enemy from without, when his own departure became necessary. Equally to be feared were the machinations and plots within the city itself. On the 5th of November, the Marquis de Fronteira, Civil Governor of Lisbon, officially made known to Saldanha the danger of the situation, unless immediate and stringent steps were taken to suppress any revolutionary attempts either of the Ultras or of the Miguelites.

The Marquis states, that the Duke de Palmella and others, who, after the 6th of October, had applied for passports for the purpose of leaving the country, had delayed their departure, in order that they might carry on intrigues against the Government. He expresses his belief that their object in demanding passports, of which they had no intention to make use, was to delude the Police by a pretended intention of quitting the scene. He declares that Palmella had supplied José Lucio Valdez (Count do Bomfim) and Bernardo de Sá Nogueira (Viscount de Sá) with money; and that he and various members of his family were intriguing, and were animating the hopes of the revolted. The Marquis adds, that the very presence of such men, after they have, by soliciting their passports, expressed their discontent with the present order of things, is dangerous to the tranquillity of the country, and especially of the Capital; and he concludes by saying, that his loyalty to the Queen, and the duties of his office compel him to those steps, as all other considerations must yield to the country's safety.

Shortly afterwards, when the Marshal had left Lisbon, Fron-

teira again writes to him: "I am now most busy with measures for sending out of the country the Duke de Palmella, Rodrigo; Reis e Vasconcellos, and those relations of ours who had the impertinence (desaforo) to apply to the Queen for leave of absence,* at this moment when attempts are being made to dethrone her." Consequent upon this, but somewhat later, the active Civil Governor again wrote to Saldanha, expressing his regret at having been obliged to imprison D. Christovão de Vilhena (a nephew of the Marshal's, and a staunch supporter of D. Miguel). "Pardon me, my friend," writes the kind Marquis, "that I do not spare your relations; but I began by sending to prison one of my own nephews—the Marquis das Minas. I have taken measures which are repugnant to my feelings—but my duty is the first consideration." The Marquis adds: "You are much wanted here."

The Marshal had left Lisbon on the 6th. On the 9th, Mr. Southern informs Lord Palmerston that Marshal Saldanha's head-quarters were at Arruda, near the lines of Torres Vedras. He writes: "A flying-column of about 300 Infantry and 60 Cavalry, moving on the left flank of the Duke de Saldanha's Division, attacked a body of from 400 to 500 organized peasants near Cintra, the day before yesterday. The insurgents resisted some five or six hours; when, having expended their ammunition, they retired into the Sierra.† The nominal commander of the peasantry was Sr. Ignacio de Barros, a gentleman who has a country house near Cintra, and who made his escape during the conflict." This account is not very complimentary to the courage of Sr. de Barros; but Mr. Southern made no allusion to the political views of that gentleman, or of those he had led. Such an allusion would have too flatly contradicted his former statement—that "the struggle had no appearance of a Miguelite character." Was Mr. Southern ignorant of the fact that Sr. de Barros—the very incarnation of Miguelism—had hitherto lived in retirement near Cintra, dreaming constantly of the return to Portugal of D. Miguel?

* It was always the custom in Portugal for members of the high nobility to personally request permission of their Sovereign to quit the kingdom.

† The hills or mountains. In Portuguese, *Serra*.

Colonel Wylde arrived off Oporto, in a British war-steamer, on the morning of the 7th of November, but was neither allowed to land, nor to hold communication with the British Consul! Consequently, he proceeded to Lisbon, where he arrived on the following day.

The despatches of Colonel Wylde to Lord Palmerston afford us a tolerably correct account of much that now followed. On the 12th of November, he thus describes Saldanha's force, which he already had accompanied two days on the march. "It consists of about 8,300 Infantry, 350 Cavalry, and 12 pieces of Artillery; namely, four 24-pound howitzers, four 6-pounders, and four 3-pounders,—all good troops, and apparently in high spirits and well affected."

On the following day, the Colonel went to Santarem, where he was received by Das Antas, who had drawn up all his forces in the Great Square. The Colonel estimated their strength at "about 3000 regular Infantry,—apparently as good and as well equipped as Saldanha's,—150 Cavalry, two pieces of field Artillery, 150 students of Coimbra, and about 4000 peasants, all armed with some sort of fire-arms, either muskets, long-barrelled fowling pieces, or blunderbusses."

Colonel Wylde informs us, that after being presented to our old acquaintance, the Count da Taipa, and others, he retired with Das Antas and Sr. Mousinho; and that, in answer to his observations proposing an amicable termination of the strife, Sr. Mousinho had "declaimed for nearly an hour, with a great deal of action and heat." Sr. Mousinho asserted, that the object of the Count de Thomar had been to overthrow the Charter and to establish despotism!!! "That Das Antas himself, and others had placed themselves at the head of it" (the rebellion) "to save the country from anarchy; that so far from wishing, either to dethrone the Queen, or to diminish her prerogatives in the slightest degree, they were, and would ever live and die, her most devoted subjects; and that, indeed, they thought it very likely that they should fall a sacrifice to their loyalty; as it was probable, if her Majesty did not give way in time and change her Ministers, that the more violent of their party would wish to dethrone the Queen; but that

they were determined to forfeit their lives sooner than permit it."

Here was a frank confession of what (in Mousinho's own words) "the more violent of their party would wish" to do! Was it not with the full knowledge of the wishes of "the more violent of their party," and in consequence of that knowledge, that Saldanha had placed himself by the side of his Sovereign, and was now in arms to protect her?

Colonel Wylde then pleaded for the liberation of the Duke da Terceira, and writes: "Das Antas answered, that this was quite impossible; that even if he, as a personal friend of the Duke, might wish it, he dare not attempt it." What a confirmation of how little the Chiefs of the party in arms against their Sovereign would be able to restrain the violence of their followers should they get the upper hand!

Colonel Wylde on quitting Das Antas and his associates saw small hope of a reconciliation between the two parties, or of the possibility that the excessive demands of the insurgents could be complied with.

Finding that so many of the peasantry had taken up arms,—men who were for the most part of Miguelite opinions, and unconnected by sympathy with the regular force of the insurgents,—the Queen had signed a Decree on the 3rd of November, which revived the one issued by her father, D. Pedro, in 1833, by which all "ecclesiastics or laity apprehended with arms in their hands, and all military officers commanding irregular forces of any denomination," who join the insurgents are to be immediately shot. With that end, the commanding officer of the force which captured them, will establish a Court Martial composed of three members; the which, having heard verbally the criminals, will give final sentence, the *execution of which sentence* will depend solely on the said commanding officer, *should he deem it desirable.*

The publication of this Decree, which was never intended to be carried out, although perhaps justifiable under the peculiar circumstances of a double rebellion against the Queen, naturally led to some observations; and the British Chargé d'Affaires, on

the 24th, three weeks after the Decree was made known, thought proper to write to Saldanha on the subject.

After apologizing for not being quite in form in addressing the Marshal officially, and after other observations, Mr. Southern adds: "I cannot think that your Excellency, after having gained an enviable reputation for high-mindedness and generosity, would at this hour, and on this occasion, when your Excellency has been placed at the head of the Government of Portugal, (when the responsibility would necessarily fall on your Excellency), thus suddenly deviate from the principles and maxims which appear to have guided your Excellency's whole public life," etc., etc.

To this Saldanha replied (in English) from his head-quarters at Cartaxo, on the 29th:

"I have the honour to acknowledge the reception of your despatch of the 24th inst.; and, although I am not at this moment acting as Minister for Foreign Affairs, its object is of such a peculiar nature, that I consider myself bound by my present situation to answer it myself, instead of referring it to D. Manoel de Portugal.

"Her Majesty's Government, in publishing the Decree to which you allude, never intended that it should be carried into execution for the shedding of blood; its main object being to intimidate and to prevent others from joining those who had already taken arms against her Majesty; but, in order that the severe measures enacted by the Decree shall not be executed, orders were issued to all the commanding officers of Columns to this effect; so much so, that in the affair at Cintra, several guerillas being taken, not one was put to death in virtue of the Decree. When we arrived before Santarem, a guerilla was taken, leading some cattle to the rebels; belonging, as he himself said, to ex-Count da Taipa's party. After a few questions put to him, I sent him away; Colonel Wylde was present on the occasion: another prisoner was made a few days ago—a most audacious fellow; he had already served in the capacity of secretary to Bomfim, during the revolt of Almeida; and was now one of the most influential characters amongst them—his

name, João Bernardino da Silva Borges;* at the time he was taken, he was not only armed, but he drew his sword against the officer who took him. It might be here the proper place to mention, how differently Xavier has acted; but I consider it beneath me to enter into such details. Allow me, therefore, to assure you that the continuation of the Decree will not be in the least conducive to the shedding of blood; as also that it never was the intention of her Majesty's Government that it should have such an effect.† The facts that I have referred to, and many others, prove the accuracy of this most frank assertion.

"Thanking you most sincerely for your kind expressions towards me, I avail myself of the present opportunity of assuring you of my high consideration and esteem."

Perhaps, in no other country, and, may we not add, by no other Government, except that presided over by the Marshal Saldanha, would Mr. Southern's unnecessary note have been so courteously replied to. The sole object of the revival of this Decree of 1833, was to strike terror amongst the partisans of D. Miguel, against whom it had been originally issued. And even if it had been carried out, was ever a Government, at any time, more fully justified in using the most extreme measures of severity, than when no less than two rebel factions, of the most opposite opinions to each other, were united in arms against their Sovereign? For we shall shortly see Mr. Southern himself compelled to make known to Lord Palmerston the existence of that Miguelite insurrection, respecting which, scarcely a few days previously, he had sought to throw a doubt on Saldanha's information, if not even on his truthfulness!

We have slightly anticipated this correspondence, as it is connected with a Decree already published on the 3rd of November.

On the 13th, the Marshal addressed a despatch to the King

* This individual now, 1878, holds a situation in Lisbon under Government.

† Towards the close of the Peninsular War, the Duke of Wellington threatened that all guerillas taken with arms in their hands should be shot, and their houses burnt. "This threat prevented the expected rising" in 1814.

Consort, Commanding-in-Chief, from which we make the following extracts.

"HEAD QUARTERS. QUINTA DA FONTE BOA,
"NEAR SANTAREM. *November* 13, 1846.

"The troops of your Majesty intrusted to my command were quartered at Bellas, Loures, and S^to. Antonio do Tojal on the night of the 6th. On the following day, the cavalry and the 1st Brigade of Infantry entered Sobral de Monte Agraço with me; and the others followed this movement.

"On the 8th, I went to Arruda, where the 10th infantry and 8th cavalry * joined the 2nd Brigade. On the 9th, I marched with a hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry upon Torres Vedras, where I ascertained that the chief of the rebels had assembled his forces in the strong position of Rio Maior. I also learned that, on the previous day, the remainder of the rebels routed at Cintra, sixty or seventy in number, had crossed in the direction of Caldas. On that same day I returned to Sobral.

"The number at which the adherents of the rebels estimated their force, determined my movement on Sobral; for, if their strength was as described, they might have attempted a movement on the Capital; and I, at Sobral, two leagues from the road to Torres and two from that of Villa Franca, was so placed as to be able to make them pay dearly for their boldness.

"The information I received on the 9th, that the rebels had concentrated their forces at Rio Maior, decided the direction of my march. At day-break on the 10th, I put my troops in motion; and, after a troublesome march across the hills, we reached Abrigada at dusk. From that place we marched, the following day, upon Tagarro, with the intention of continuing through the Arco do Triumpho to the Alto da Serra, and of showing ourselves on the right flank of the enemy. Our hopes, however, were frustrated; and it is but justice to the troops I command, to assure your Majesty, that I never saw more dis-

* These two regiments, Mr. Southern, in his despatch to Lord Palmerston on the 23rd of October, in summing up the respective forces of the combatants, describes as "very doubtful."

pleasure or pain than that which was depicted on the countenances of all the brave men I command, when we ascertained that the enemy had fled before us, to hide their shame in the fortifications of Santarem. No sooner was it known at Tagarro and Alcoentre, (where the rebels had their out-posts), that we were at Abrigada, than, struck with terror, they fled in the greatest confusion to Santarem.

"From Tagarro, I changed my direction towards Cartaxo; and we were quartered for the night at Alcoentrinho and Manique do Intendente. Yesterday, at noon, we reached Ponte d'Asseca; and having crossed the bridge with twenty horse, I observed a herd of oxen driven by some guerillas towards Santarem. I ordered pursuit, and close to the town ninety-four oxen were taken. A guerilla was killed, who was armed with a ridiculous lance; and a man, calling himself a soldier of the battalion commanded by the ex-Count da Taipa, presented himself; but, on account of his rags, misery, and youth, I sent him to his home.

"My troops occupy to-day the same positions which they did in 1833 and 1834. . . . ."

It would seem that there was the same spirit of meddling with their General's plans still rife at Lisbon, as had so vexed the Marshal in 1833 and 1834. On the 15th of November, he writes to the Minister of War reminding him of how great an advantage it was to certain Generals, both ancient and modern, that they were Sovereigns as well as Commanders; and that, although Wallenstein and Wellington were not so, yet they were left unfettered to act as they thought best: whilst, in Austria, one of the reasons why her Generals have been so unsuccessful was, that they were always subject to the control of an Aulic Council. Saldanha asks "if *Messieurs les généraux** who are now in Lisbon wish to establish an Aulic Council." "If so," he writes, "I beg that you will ask his Majesty to send one of them to replace me."

"Would it be possible," continues Saldanha, in answer to some foolish suggestions from Lisbon, "to attack, with 3000 men,

* He might have exclaimed with Phocion: "How many Generals we have, and how few soldiers!"

the very strong, and, by all, ever respected position of Santarem, garrisoned by more than 6000 men? From behind walls every one can fire. At Oporto, the women, very often, assisted us with as much courage as our brave soldiers. At the same time, if we remain as we are at this moment, even if we destroy the flour mills of Pernes, the enemy can draw their supplies from Thomar, Gollegãa, and from the south of the Tagus; consequently, we might have to pass the winter here; and who can say what might not be the consequence of remaining some months in this position!

"If your Excellencies wish the war to be shortly brought to an end, the only means are those I propose: if your Excellencies, through completely secondary considerations, act so that the war be prolonged, I protest before God against the continuation of the evils which must follow."

We have already observed, that the Civil Governor of Lisbon, the Marquis de Fronteira, had strongly urged the necessity for the absence from Lisbon, and even from Portugal, of some few persons who were residing unmolested in the Capital, but who were supposed to be favourable to the revolt. The chief of these was the Duke de Palmella, who, notwithstanding he had himself asked for a passport, and tendered his resignation to the Queen as Councillor of State, still, for some reasons, delayed his departure. The Civil Governor persisted in his demand, and the question was brought before the Ministers, who wrote to Saldanha, on the 14th of November, for his advice.

Saldanha replied on the following day to the Home Minister, Viscount de Oliveira, declaring that, with respect to the opinion of foreigners, the more firmness and the more energy the Government showed, the more it would be respected by every Cabinet in Europe; if, at the same time, it was not wanting in that deference which they might have a right to expect.

"With regard to the Duke de Palmella and company, we must act as we consider necessary for the service of her Majesty and the tranquillity of the country.

"When the prisoner, Padre Antonio, denounced the Duke de

Palmella, affirming that he had given twelve contos of reis (about £2700) to the rebels; and that Mousinho had taken them, I made him repeat it in the presence of our colleague, Sousa Azevedo, on account of the terms on which he is with the Duke. On the following day, I went to the Duke, and, *having made him acquainted with the declaration of the Padre, I requested him to leave Lisbon.* The Duke denied the remittance of the twelve contos; and only acknowledged that he had given some money to Sá Nogueira and to Mousinho for their own private use. He promised me that he would leave Lisbon by the next packet; and he handed to me a letter to her Majesty, in which he solicited his removal from the Council of State. From what I have stated, it is evident that before I left Lisbon, I had deemed the departure of the Duke de Palmella necessary; and as his conduct has become more pronounced since I left, I now consider it indispensable. His presence in Portugal does harm to the cause of the Queen. The articles he may get written in the newspapers abroad, can only do us harm, should we wish to make a foreign loan.

"If your Excellencies will act with the same courage, firmness, and resolution as I will, the Queen shall remain Queen, and the Portuguese shall enjoy a well understood liberty. Such deferential scruples would tend to our present ruin; or prepare the way for the fall of the Throne at a future period."

For some account of the progress which the Queen's cause was making in other parts of Portugal, we will refer to the despatches of Mr. Southern, who now must have felt how completely his opinions had hitherto been at variance with fact.

On the 28th of November he writes as follows to Lord Palmerston:

". . . . . Baron Casal suddenly marched out of Chaves; and, on his approaching Viscount Sá da Bandeira's force in strong positions at a place called Val-passos, the whole of the troops of the line under Viscount Sá, consisting of the 3rd and 15th regiments, went over to him; and, as they went, faced round and fired into the irregular troops which they had accompanied from Oporto, and from which they had just separated.

"Nothing was left for the Viscount Sá da Bandeira but immediate retreat; which he effected in good order,* towards Murça, until he was again attacked by Baron Casal, when his irregular troops were dispersed, and he himself compelled to make his escape as well as he could."

Mr. Southern received his information from Mr. Johnston, Consul at Oporto, who, on the 17th of November, thus wrote to him: "The Baron de Casal has, I believe, received arms, ammunition, and money from Spain, but no horses." Mr. Southern alters the language to "money, arms, ammunition, clothing, and it is said even horses." Again, Johnston informed Mr. Southern that "the Duke da Terceira and his suite are still in the castle of S. João da Foz. The Duke is often grossly insulted by his guards." But yet, Mr. Southern, well aware of the interest felt by Lord Palmerston and his Government for the Duke's safety, made no mention of this in his despatch!

In the same communication to Mr. Southern, the Consul writes: "A small Miguelite guerilla has appeared at Castello de Paiva; and it is apprehended that an extensive Miguelite movement will take place shortly in the Douro, and in the Minho." Then, at last, Mr. Southern is compelled to acknowledge to Lord Palmerston: "Hitherto Mr. Johnston, in his communications to Lord Howard de Walden and to myself, has always given us to understand that there was little apprehension of the Miguelites rising on their own account. At present it would seem that the efforts of General Macdonell, and other agents using the name of D. Miguel, have been more successful."

These and other examples, which might be given of Mr. Southern's partial statements, together with his marked hostility to the supporters of the Queen's cause, may prepare us for seeing, at a later period, that even in the British Parliament there were to be found Members, not only to vindicate the conduct of the rebels, but even to vituperate, and insult the very Queen, D. Maria, herself.

* Mr. Johnston had described Sá's retreat as "in less disorder than might be expected." Southern ignores this admitted disorder, and tells Lord Palmerston that the retreat was "effected in good order."

So gross was the language of one Member, respecting that well-intentioned and virtuous lady, that her Majesty, our own beloved Sovereign, thought proper, in a correspondence with her sister Queen, to offer some apology for what had been uttered in ignorance, or in the heat of debate. "Oh," exclaimed her Majesty to Saldanha; "I wrote in answer, that I paid no attention to what was said respecting myself by an English Deputy, because I knew that their House always had its sittings after dinner."

The reader will perhaps recollect that by the terms of the Quadruple Treaty, made, in 1834, between England, France, Portugal, and Spain, these Powers had bound themselves, not only to expel by force the two Pretenders from the latter countries, but to guarantee the thrones of their Queens from any attempts to subvert them. Portugal, in 1834, had succeeded in expelling D. Miguel without such assistance. A British Legion under General Evans, aided by a Portuguese Division of 6000 men, and with the co-operation of the naval forces of England, had assisted to drive D. Carlos from Spain. The Portuguese Government, owing to the recent Miguelite risings, now considered that the Queen was in circumstances to justify her in calling upon her allies to fulfil their obligations. Lord Palmerston, as informed by Mr. Southern, did not consider that the case had yet arrived of the Queen's throne being in such danger as to require the interference of England, or of the other parties to the Treaty. And yet, it is very apparent, from the further facts which we are about to state, that not only was the party of D. Miguel actively in arms, but that it entertained strong hopes of success.

Consul Johnston, on the 30th of November, after informing Southern that the rebel force at Oporto was then composed of 750 regulars, and 2,390 men of all denominations bearing arms, states, that a Miguelite Junta had been formed at Braga; and that there were said to be no less than 2,500 guerillas, in favour of that party, at various points of the Douro. That there was a Miguelite guerilla at Penafiel; that Macdonell had passed through Vizella with 600 men, all well clothed and armed; that he appeared to have plenty of money, and had

paid for every thing he required. Melhundes, Mr. Johnston states, had joined him with about 400 men; and Macdonell had been received at Guimarães, with great rejoicings by about 300 armed Miguelites; and had entered Braga on the 27th. The Consul calculated that the force actually with Macdonell was about 3000. At the same time, another correspondent at Oporto makes known to Mr. Southern, that "the Miguelites are daily increasing in the midst of these muddy waters," and adds: "I am really alarmed at your own and the Government's (British) indifference with respect to the Miguelite party: for, believe me, it is more to be feared than people suppose. ALL the Minho, influenced by the gentry who have their property in that part of the country, follows the banner which is already displayed. Up to yesterday, no man of note, except Macdonell, had shown himself openly; but every thing is well planned; there are persons who will give money,—perhaps the very Wine Company, whose directors are, for the most part, Miguelites. I also consider you blind, as I said in my last, respecting what is going on here. The Junta have shown much energy and talent; and still more so since the arrival of Sá da Bandeira. Their only error, in my opinion, is their allowing the newspapers to lie as they do; and their impressing people right and left, to take up arms. They are getting on here with the fortifications; and they take up people right and left for the battalions; so much so, that no one can escape; indeed, people are hunted down in the public streets like wolves; and a decree has been published doing away with privileges. The worst of all this is, that Miguelism is advancing with rapid strides, and a great deal of trouble will it give. According to Sá Bandeira's official report, Macdonell is at the head of the movement; and D. Miguel has been proclaimed in several places, and they even say at Lamego."

Other information emanating from Santarem declared that the Miguelites had rapidly increased in numbers in the Province of Traz-os-Montes; still more in Minho; and that they were in possession of Braga, Guimarães and Penafiel.

Although a combination between the Miguelites and the party in arms against the Government was notorious, the rebels

impudently gave out that the Chartists were secretly supporting the Miguelite movement, in order to give it such apparent strength as might justify the Government in calling for foreign interference! With justice might Mr. Southern's correspondent reproach the rebels for "allowing their newspapers to lie as they do." Further to confirm the alliance between the two rebel parties, we again quote a letter to Mr. Southern from the Consul. "Macdonell gives out that D. Miguel is certainly to marry the daughter of the Marquis of Loulé.* On this account, Guimarães was illuminated on the 4th. (December). The Miguelites in Oporto generally seem to think, that the Infanta D. Isabel Maria is at the head of the Miguelite movement. I am told that a rising in the Douro is expected. . . . . A few days ago the Junta took 40 contos (about £9,000) from the Bank; alleging that they had ascertained that an agent of Marshal Saldanha had an order on the Bank for that sum."

Mr. Southern himself now writes to Lord Palmerston on the 19th, (December); "I have been informed that very positive instructions arrived here from London, purporting to come from D. Miguel to the chiefs of the former Miguelite party, directing them to put themselves at the head of the movement."

Although Lord Palmerston, in the beginning of the strife, had given so little credence to the reported Miguelite rising; and had so strongly opposed the intervention of Spain with the aid which that country was bound to afford, both by the obligations of the treaty, and for her own personal security, should D. Miguel attempt to re-establish absolutism in the neighbouring country, yet now he could no longer shut his eyes to the real facts. For, Mr. Bulwer, the British minister at Madrid, wrote to him on the 13th of December:

"The accounts which are current here of a Miguelite insurrection in Portugal are so formidable, and the plans of Count Montemolin are considered to be so connected with it, that it is possible her Catholic Majesty's Government may altogether change the policy which they have hitherto professed, and

* This nobleman was married to an aunt of the Queen; but the Sovereign had not recognized the legality of the marriage.

express an intention, under certain contingencies, to cross the Portuguese frontier, in aid of Queen D. Maria's cause."

Mr. Bulwer, shortly afterwards, informs Lord Palmerston, that he had received a communication from Sr. Isturitz, the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Madrid, of which the following is an extract:

"So long as the lamentable struggle in Portugal remains confined to the revolutionary parties contending against the Government of H. M. F. Majesty, it will be possible for the Government of her Catholic Majesty, with more or less danger, with a greater or less consciousness of its own interest, to remain neutral; but should the struggle degenerate into a dynastical contest, by attempting to substitute the dynasty of D. Miguel of Portugal for that of its legitimate Queen, D. Maria, it will be impossible for the Government of the Queen D. Isabella II. not to fulfil its duty, now that the civil war has only just been put an end to in Spain; when the pretensions of the branch which disputed her Majesty's throne are still alive; and, what is still more remarkable and certainly incomprehensible, when these pretensions are apparently countenanced by ostensible demonstrations in the Capital of Great Britain."

Although Saldanha had always expressed himself confident of being able to put an end to the rebellion; and, so far from desiring foreign interference, had strongly expressed himself against it; yet, when he saw the monstrous alliance between Miguelites, and a party, whose supporters, by its own confession, might be carried to the most extreme measures against the Queen, he felt that the necessity had arisen for calling on the parties to the Quadruple Treaty to comply with its provisions. For how could he hope, with such limited means, to suppress a double rebellion!

When he quitted Lisbon, he wrote to his wife from Cartaxo: "We are all happy, and convinced of the triumph of the good cause." Later, on the 4th of December, he still writes to her with hope and confidence: "I hope my absence from you and my dear children will not be of long duration. Every day we gain as much as our enemy loses; but we must have patience; we cannot hurry events. . . . . The anarchists are doing all in

their power to make common cause with the Miguelites, who have taken up arms in the Minho. Till now, the Miguelites have repulsed their offers; but, thank God, even if they come to some understanding, we are strong enough for both of them together."

The little notes written at this time almost daily to the Duchess, and which are mostly in the author's possession, testify to his constant desire to lessen her anxiety; and, while he evinces the most tender attachment to his wife and to his children, not an absent member of his household is left unnoticed, when, from illness or other cause, they demand his attention. In one of these notes, he orders a pair of boots to be made for "poor Luiz Pinto" against the coming winter. What Portuguese, a visitor at the Marshal's house, does not recollect "poor Luiz Pinto." He was an inveterate Miguelite, and for years had dined daily at the table of one or other of that party. But, by degrees, they tired of him; and, when he made his appearance at the dinner hour, no invitation to stay was offered. His last resource was at the house of Saldanha, which hitherto he had avoided. But, one day, having found his way there, he was invited to remain to dine; and the kind-hearted Marshal, knowing his circumstances, never allowed him to depart without a friendly shake of the hand, and a significant "à demain," which Luiz Pinto soon construed into a prescriptive right, and continued to dine there for years until he died.

During this period, the Minister of War (*ad interim*—for Saldanha still retained the appointment) continued to write almost daily to the Marshal. On one occasion, he begs him not to get ill, "for that would render us all ill." At another, he wishes there were two Marshals—one for the army, the other to govern the "insubordinates at Lisbon." On the 20th of November, he informs the Marshal that the Queen had ordered him to prepare a *Mémoire* of the political state of the country, to be sent to England and France, where the most inexact reports were being spread respecting all that was going forward. On the 5th of December, he says: "I am going to write to Moncorvo, as my colleague D. Manoel is ill, to say that we only require *intervention* for the Miguelites. As for the rebels,

leave them to us. We have our *papão* * here, which is the Duke de Saldanha." The Minister complains of "intrigues and wickedness;" but, on the 17th of December, assures the Marshal that "every one has full confidence in your Excellency; and, consequently, it is impossible, that any one should oppose the plan, or any plan of yours."

The Count de Thomar wrote to Saldanha from Madrid, on the 4th of December, with the same enthusiastic deference:

"Upon your acknowledged intelligence and proved talent are alone dependent the salvation of the Throne of the Queen, the preservation of the Dynasty, and the stability of the Charter. . . . . Permit me to demand that I may be counted in the number of your true, and loyal, and admiring friends. . . . . I thank your Excellency for the proofs of kindness which you continue to give me; and I will prove myself a *loyal soldier* of the *political army* of your Excellency, as I know how to be grateful for these proofs of kindness and friendship."

The plans of Saldanha were now to be carried out. Colonel Wylde had written on the 19th of December to Lord Palmerston, stating that Bomfim had a force of about 2,000 men, and was manœuvring to get round Saldanha's left flank, and make a sudden march upon Lisbon, by the Cintra road, with the hope of creating some movement in his favour in the city; and that Das Antas was still at Santarem "with 4 battalions of regular troops, and some 2 or 3 thousand peasants." He (Colonel Wylde) saw little chance of the question being decided in the field.

Whatever were the "manœuvres" of Bomfim to which Colonel Wylde referred, Saldanha was fully prepared to outmanœuvre him. He had remained at Cartaxo until he was satisfied that Lisbon no longer required his immediate presence for its defence. On the 14th, (December), he wrote to the Minister of War, lamenting that his presence is required everywhere. Brave and intelligent, he writes, as are his subordinates when executing his orders, they appear to be paralysed when themselves in command. To remedy this, as far as possible, Saldanha declared that it was perfectly useless to occupy

* Something to frighten children.

Ponte d'Asseca and Celeiro whilst the enemy had all other communications from Santarem open; and that, moreover, he could not venture to place any of his troops within half a league of the town, unless he was there himself. That, under present circumstances, he must have his force so disposed as to be able to move with the greatest rapidity; that he had ordered the sick to be removed to Villa Nova; and he was going that day to march on Azambuja the 9th and 14th Infantry, 5th Cavalry,* and half a brigade of artillery, in order to cover Villa Nova and his communications. "I," continues Saldanha, "with the remainder of my force will go and occupy Rio Maior, and there I shall be in a situation either to fall on the enemy, if they should venture to appear in the direction of the Capital; or, at least, shall greatly inconvenience their movements and communications. I have not only ordered Ferreira to find out with certainty the position of Valdez, but that Joaquim Ignacio should go with his Guides (Guias) and some cavalry towards Caldas, for the purpose of ascertaining what is going forwards in the direction the rebels may take from Leiria. I should not be astonished if Valdez (Bomfim) went to Coimbra. If he goes in the direction of Torres, we will give him a good thrashing. God will help us.

"I am going on horseback to meet Ferreira's troops, which will reach Alcoentre to-day. It is desirable to appear amongst them.

"Your true friend,

"SALDANHA."

The result of these reconnaissances led Saldanha to change his plans. Finding that Bomfim had reached Alcobaça and Caldas, he sent some troops to occupy Leiria; and, having by a feint induced Bomfim to march on the road to Lisbon, he, by this means, separated the enemy's forces, between which he immediately placed himself. He then hastily recalled his men from Leiria, which city Das Antas had supposed it was his intention to occupy, and followed Bomfim, who sought refuge in the formidable position of Torres Vedras.

* This regiment, Mr. Southern had described to Lord Palmerston as almost entirely in favour of the rebels.

The War Minister received news of Bomfim's movements, which he interpreted as announcing an attack on Lisbon; and, unaware of the Marshal's manœuvres, he despatched, on the 20th, courier after courier, both to warn Saldanha of the enemy's plans, and to assure him that efficient preparation had been made for defence. On the following day, he writes: "Here we are ready for everything. The greatest enthusiasm reigns; and we are prepared, without fear, for the visit of our enemies. . . . . To-day, it is said, that Valdez has occupied Torres Vedras, and sent his advanced guard as far as Enxara dos Cavalleiros. . . . . The King has shewn the greatest energy and interest in the cause."

Two days afterwards, the blow was struck, and the enemy was annihilated. Then arrived another letter: "A thousand thousand compliments, my dear Marshal. I felt sure that I was not deceiving myself, when, writing about the victories of Vianna and Val de Passos, I said that it would be you who would strike the death blow. I am glad that, once more, I was in the right. Every one has his weakness; and mine is to consider myself a prophet when I have certain facts to go upon. Thank God, that you have once more crowned with glory yourself and the brave fellows whom you command. Send me details for the benefit of my correspondents. Now is the moment for rewarding the meritorious," etc.

We gather further particulars of the taking of Torres Vedras, from two private letters written by the Marshal to the acting Minister of War; and from an official one addressed to Sr. D. Fernando, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

"*December 22nd.*

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Valdez, Celestino, Mousinho, and those they commanded, are annihilated; with the exception of the few who are shut up in the Castle and surrounded by our troops. Glorious were the deeds that were done, but by no one more than by my Solla. Our loss is great; more than 25 officers and 200 soldiers *hors de combat.* You cannot catch trout without getting wet. (a Portuguese proverb). Send us cartridges and shoes. I

think that the Brigade—9th and 14th—and the 5th Cavalry, might come to Villa Nova. To-night, I am going to place the artillery in a position to commence bombarding the Castle in the morning; and, as soon as it surrenders, I will go after Xavier who is at Tagarro, as you will see by the two enclosed papers, addressed to Bomfim, which have just been brought to me. What a horribly wet day; and what a stormy night! For the last three nights, the troops have slept in the open air, upon the mud, with the rain falling upon them. Even to-day, at this moment, 12 o'clock at night, no one has tasted food. Few people imagine what the life of a soldier is. We are in want of biscuit and animals: see if you can perform a miracle. Regards to all your colleagues.

"Your true friend,

"SALDANHA.

"P.S. If you could employ Brigadier Mesquita elsewhere, it would be a good thing; as I ought not to deprive Solla of the command of the Brigade; nor do I wish to do so. Send me some litters to-morrow, for the transport of our wounded to Alhandra; and surgeons to look after them, as the regimental surgeons go with us. Perhaps some may remain at Runa. Forces will be required to escort them. We are in immediate want of powder, as we have no reserved supply."

"TORRES VEDRAS, *December 23rd.*

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Long live her Majesty and her Dynasty! Valdez, Mousinho, (mortally wounded in the chest), Celestino, the Count de Avillez, Fernando Villa Real, Lauret, etc. etc., all surrendered to-day, and are on their way, as prisoners, to Lisbon. The cavalry had not got off, as we had been informed; all, all, is in our possession. I am tired out, and for that reason cannot write more fully.

"Your true friend,

"SALDANHA.

"P.S. I cannot yet say what were our losses yesterday; I only know that they were great. I beg you to say to your

colleague of the Home Department, that João Elias has accompanied me even on the field of battle; and that he is an excellent person. Shoes, biscuit, and money are what I ask, that we may go after Das Antas."

"HEAD QUARTERS, TORRES VEDRAS,
"*December 25th*, 1846.

"SIRE,

"At the time I received the communication that Lisbon, on account of the brilliant state of the volunteers and municipal guard, was judged capable of defending itself against the forces of any rebels that might dare to attack it, the united forces of the ex-Count do Bomfim, Mousinho D'Albuquerque, ex-General Celestino, and the guerilla chief, Fernando de Sousa Botelho, occupied Alcobaça and Caldas.

"I did not lose a moment after receiving these accounts, (which gave me much satisfaction); and, on the 19th, I marched, with the troops under my command, towards Caldas, my vanguard passing the night at Tagarro and Cercal. On the following morning, I united all my forces in these places, and waited for information from detachments of cavalry, which I had sent towards Caldas and Bombarral.

"From Cercal and Tagarro three roads open on Caldas; Cadaval; and Candieiros, on the high road between Rio Maior and Leiria. After mid-day, I obtained the certainty that the enemy had taken the road which leads from Caldas to Torres Vedras; upon which I immediately proceeded to Cadaval, where my troops bivouacked.

"The following day we arrived at Amial; one league from Torres Vedras. Here I obtained the certainty of the enemy being in that town.

"The weather during these marches, and particularly the last night, was horrible, and continued so the next day.

"I was again obliged to bivouack the troops. On the 22nd, at half-past ten in the morning, we arrived at the position occupied by the enemy.

"The lines of Torres Vedras, famous in military history, not only in Portugal, but in the whole world, formed the barrier which, for the first time, checked the rapid flight of the French

eagle. It was there where the armies of Napoleon met with an invincible obstacle.

"Torres Vedras is the strongest part of these lines. The heights of S. Vicente are crowned by a magnificent redoubt in excellent condition; those of Forca and of Saes, on the right bank of the river Sizandro, are flanked by the fire of the castle, which may be considered as the real citadel of those works, whose gorges it defends. Between these heights and the town runs the river Sizandro, crossed by three bridges, leading to wide paved roads, all being swept by the fire of the castle, and flanked by that of the redoubts. This very strong position had been advantageously occupied by the rebels, whose chiefs had assured the inhabitants of the town, that, even if the forces under my command were four times their number, I should be beaten, if I were to attack such a position.

"It is not for rebels to estimate the valour which animates the breasts of loyal men engaged in the holy and just cause that we defend. But, without the enthusiasm which animates us, without the conviction that to our efforts are confided the Crown of the Queen, the continuance of her dynasty, and the constitutional Charter, the assertion of the rebel chiefs might have had a better foundation.

"At a quarter past eleven, the rebels opened fire. So soon as I had reconnoitred the position, I saw that victory depended on the possession of the grand redoubt or fort of S. Vicente; and, after the 1st and 8th battalions of Caçadores had called in their sharpshooters, I ordered Colonel F. da F. Mesquita e Solla, commanding the 1st brigade, to take the redoubt with the bayonet. This was executed by the 1st brigade in the most glorious manner. The redoubt was defended by the 6th Caçadores, three companies of the 6th infantry, and many guerillas.

"The horrible state of the roads had delayed the march of our artillery, notwithstanding the efforts of Brigadier Leão and of the artillery corps, aided most efficiently by Major Carvalho and the officers of the Engineers; and only at three o'clock in the afternoon could we open fire on the enemy. I then gave the necessary orders for attacking the town, at four

o'clock, by the three brigades of infantry simultaneously, supported by some cavalry.

"The 8th and 10th regiments, which had advanced in line, supporting Caçadores No. 1, suffered, uncovered, for a long time (until Fort S. Vicente was taken) a front and flank fire, with a firmness and courage worthy of the highest praise. These two corps, with part of the 8th Cavalry and of the Queen's Lancers, had the glory of being the first who entered the town by the outer bridge. Colonel Solla, at the head of some of the Queen's Grenadiers, followed by his Brigade and detachments of the 3rd Cavalry and Queen's Lancers, with the greatest intrepidity entered by the bridge on the right.

"The 4th Brigade* only entered the town at nightfall. The enemy, vanquished on all sides, and having lost a great number in killed and prisoners, seeing themselves cut off from the force which occupied the redoubt of Forca, retreated into the castle with all their remaining forces, including 220 horses. After this, many soldiers of various scattered corps came over to us, as well as the three companies of the 2nd Infantry which had occupied the fort of Forca.

"I immediately took possession of all the roads leading to the castle, cutting off its communications. And thus we passed the night. Before day-break, I advanced two pieces of six, and two mortars, which, at 10 o'clock, were in position to batter the castle; and, at 11, I made known to the commander of the forces which were there united, that, if they had not surrendered at the expiration of an hour, I should commence firing; and that the only condition that I could grant, on their immediate surrender, was, that their lives should be spared.

"The ex-General Valdez replied that the gallant manner in which the men, under his command, had behaved, deserved their being permitted to go out with military honours; the officers retaining their baggage, and the soldiers their knapsacks; to which I acceded; and, at mid-day, 900 infantry, 400 caçadores, 220 horses, the ex-Count do Bomfim, Mousinho, (severely wounded), ex-General Celestino, all the chiefs and officers of the 5th and 6th Caçadores, and of the 2nd and 6th

* Commanded by Colonel Filippe Marcelli Pereira.

infantry, and of various corps of cavalry and artillery, together with a large number of guerillas, amongst whom were Lauret, Fernando de Sousa Botelho, Jayme de Vizeu, and other conspicuous characters amongst the anarchists, all surrendered and laid down their arms.

"In this manner, the God of battles permitted the efforts of the loyal subjects of her Majesty to be crowned with success.

"It is quite impossible to form a true idea of the valour shown by our troops on this memorable day, without seeing the position, and inspecting the ground on which they fought. And, if it were possible that such conduct could receive additional lustre, it certainly would derive it from recollection of the roads we passed during four days, and of the tempestuous nights during which we bivouacked.

"But so much glory cost us very dear, as your Majesty will observe by the list of the losses we sustained on that day; and which I have the honour to lay before your Majesty.

"To-morrow, I shall have the honour of forwarding to your Majesty the names of those individuals, whose brilliant conduct, on that glorious day, deserves the royal munificence of her Majesty.

"Sire! The holy cause which we defend, has made, with the victory of the 22nd, a decisive advance. But our task is not yet accomplished: and boldly can I assure your Majesty, in the name of the brave men whom I command, that we shall not rest until the legitimate authority of her Majesty, the Queen, be re-established throughout the kingdom; and that we anxiously wish, at the cost of every sacrifice, to establish the Constitutional Throne on such firm ground, that it may never be shaken in the slightest degree by the caprice of party.

"God preserve your Majesty.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA.

"LOSSES.

	Men.	Horses.
Killed	57	16
Wounded	316	26
Missing	18	5"

Colonel Wylde writes to Lord Palmerston on the subject of the taking of Torres Vedras:—

"I learn that it was a hard fought action on the 22nd; having commenced at eleven o'clock in the morning, and not being concluded until near five in the afternoon. The insurgents had intrenched themselves, and defended the town obstinately. About 750 guerillas and men of the 8th Caçadores, (principally the former), passed over to Saldanha during the action. The Marshal's loss is stated by himself at 25 officers and 250 men *hors de combat.*

"The Count do Bomfim had, previous to the action, about 3500 men,—of whom 280 were cavalry,—and two pieces of artillery. Saldanha's force was, probably, about 4000 infantry and 500 cavalry; but I cannot state it with any certainty, in consequence of his having detached two weak brigades a day or two before the action; one to reinforce the garrison of Lisbon; and another to a strong position, about two leagues to his right, on the road Das Antas was said to be advancing on from Cadaval, where he was on the night of the 21st."

This victory was as signal as it was unexpected. For, only four days previously, Colonel Wylde had written to Saldanha; and the following was the postscript to his letter:—

"I saw his Majesty yesterday, who asked me if I thought there was any probability of your fighting a battle soon. I told his Majesty I thought not, unless some movement of the enemy caused it; as, in my opinion, the risk would be too great for a prudent general to run, who had no reserve to fall back upon."

Colonel Wylde was not slow in congratulating the Marshal on the brilliant victory he had gained. He wrote to him on the 24th; and his letter not only evinces his opinion of the "wickedness" of the rebel party, but does justice to Saldanha's heart, and to the principles which, at all times, guided his conduct.

"LISBON, *December 24th*, 1846.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"I congratulate you most heartily on the glorious victory you have just obtained. Believe me, no one of your friends rejoices more sincerely than I do at the success of the Queen's cause; and most truly do I hope that the insurgents

still in arms will see the inutility and folly, as well as wickedness, of continuing a vain struggle; and, by at once throwing themselves on her Majesty's clemency, enable you to add to the reputation you already possess, so justly, of a skilful General, that of the healer of your country's wounds—a title still more glorious: and,—I am sure I do not flatter you in saying,—one nearer to your own heart, and a greater object of your ambition than the former. . . . . The Admiral has ordered a Steamer to proceed to-morrow morning to Oporto with the good news.

"Believe me, etc.

"W. WYLDE."

Vice-Admiral Parker also wrote, as follows, to the Marshal:—

"H. M. SHIP HIBERNIA.
"IN THE TAGUS, *December* 28, 1846.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"Allow me to offer you my cordial congratulations on your late signal victory.

"I cannot but hail the decisive achievement at Torres Vedras, as a certain guarantee for the speedy termination of this unfortunate Civil War; and I sincerely rejoice that, with these additional laurels to grace your military fame, you have won a golden opportunity for exercising the dictates of a generous nature, in promoting the beneficent tranquillization and friendly reunion of the Portuguese Nation: a consummation that, with every happiness to yourself, is the unfeigned wish of, my dear Duke,

"Yours, etc.

"W. PARKER."

Soon the news of Saldanha's success spread over the Continent; the name of Torres Vedras, a place of world-wide reputation in a military sense, increasing its importance. There were not wanting some, however, who, either from malice or ignorance, endeavoured to diminish the Marshal's glory; as we may see by an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of January 11th, 1847, professing to be copied from the *London Express*, in which it is stated, that women and children were massacred;

that the town was set on fire; and that Saldanha seized all the church plate and had it melted ! ! !

From the time Saldanha left Lisbon, he wrote, daily, to his wife, some few lines of hope or consolation. These letters are in the author's possession; and he judges that the following extracts from them, so far from appearing trivial or uninteresting to the reader, may be acceptable as portraying the genial and domestic character of the Soldier-Statesman.

On the very day of his departure, his first care, at the village where he halted, was to relieve, in a few words, the anxiety of his absent family.

"LOURES, *November 6th.*

"DEAR AND BELOVED WIFE,

"Here we are very comfortable and very hungry: and the dinner is not ready. We are all happy and full of wishes of rendering the Queen and the country good services. We have as yet no news of the enemy. . . . . Good night. Pray for us all."

"*November 13th.*

"We are all well, but annoyed at not finishing this at once. The less blood is spilt the better. Let me know whether you have received a very pretty ode I sent you."

"CARTAXO, *November 15th.*

"Colonel Wylde will come back here. He is sent by the British Government to observe our movements. . . . . Find out Alegria, who was our cook, and tell him to come immediately to Cartaxo: for there is no remedy but to have a good cook for Englishmen."

"CARTAXO, *November 16th.*

"I went to-day within musket shot of Santarem with my cavalry. The rebels did not dare to show themselves outside the town.

"We are all well, and all very animated and anxious to meet the enemy. I am very glad you are better of your cold. I have *saudades* even of Tom Pouce.* God bless you all. Pray for us."

* A very small Mexican dog. *Saudades* is a most expressive word in the Portuguese language. It implies fond regrets in absence. The Latin *desiderium* is probably the nearest approach to its meaning.

"CARTAXO, *November 17th.*

"To day I am 56 years old. Thank God I feel myself as healthy and strong as when I was only 25. Or better; because then I used to suffer much from *enxaquéca* (megrim). How often have you talked of me to-day with our children! I also have many *saudades*. Remembrances to Luiz Pinto and to our friends. God bless you all."

"CARTAXO, *November 18th.*

"I have received your letter of yesterday wishing me joy. Thank you, my good friend. We had here a great feast. The officers of my Staff gave a dinner, at which many verses were recited and many healths drank. Yours was, and with the greatest enthusiasm. We are all happy; and convinced of the triumph of our good cause."

"CARTAXO, 9 *at night.*

"We are all well, thank God; but with a desire to finish with this, that I cannot describe. May the Almighty in His Mercy have pity on this poor nation, and quickly put an end to this terrible plague of Civil War. Adieu, my good friend. Pray for us."

The following letter was in reply to one from the Duchess, who, with anxious care, advised precautions against poison.

"CARTAXO, *November 26th.*

"MY DEAR AND BELOVED WIFE,

"Thank you for all your care. The cook is known to be a Chartist, and a good man. You cannot do worse than wake up a sleeping dog. These precautions only serve to remind the enemy of the possibility of effecting such a purpose. Cowards die many times before their deaths. The valiant never taste of death but once. My dear wife, we are in the hands of God; and the Almighty will defend us from all evil.

"Truly yours,

"SALDANHA."

"CARTAXO, *December 1st.*

"This is a great day for Portugal, for our country, and for

the Saldanhas. Forty-four Portuguese noblemen, among whom were eleven Saldanhas, freed the country from the Spanish yoke which had oppressed it during 60 years.* What a difference between them and those noblemen, who, at this time, call the cause of anarchy a just one! and the demagogues who defend it, *noble!!* I will not go on."

"CARTAXO, *December 4th.*

"I have many many *saudades* of my beloved wife; and of my good daughter and good son. . . . . I hope that this strife will not last long. . . . . The anarchists have done and are doing all in their power to make common cause with the Miguelites who have taken up arms in the Minho. Till now, the Miguelites have repulsed their offers; but, thank God, even if they come to some understanding, we are strong enough for both of them together. Remember me to all our friends."

Saldanha adds, in a postscript to his daughter: "Tell Luiz Pinto to order two pair of boots, so that with three he may be able to have two of them drying when they are wet. Mamma will pay for them when he says how much they cost."

"CARTAXO, *December 17th.*

"What *saudades!* And what patience one must have in one's old age to be skipping about in this way (andar nestas dançcas). We must submit to the Will of God. . . . . For God's sake do not believe any news. Be sure I will let you always know everything in time."

"CARTAXO, *December 18th.*

"I am sorry to hear that you were somewhat unwell; but I hope it is only a slight cold, and from too much fatigue. Upon my honour, I must blame you for going to Bemfica and Necessidades the same day. It is too much; and far better to divide the visits, and thus you will be compelled to go out oftener. I am going to march to-morrow, and am very happy, for I will be now free in my movements. The Almighty will lead us. I will write as often as possible, but you must not be anxious, if, for a day, you do not hear from me. I should be very glad to see my

* On the 1st of December, 1640.

son, but for the moment I cannot gratify his wish. I do not wish him to be a soldier. It is a bad life. The diplomatic career is far better for him."

"CERCAL, *December 20th.*

"We have at length left our positions before Santarem; because there is now sufficient force at Lisbon to protect it, and my presence is not required. I am consequently going in search of Valdez (Bomfim); and I hope in God that he will not escape us. We will do our best that he shall not. We have an immense force.* He can only run away from us, and play at hide and seek. Let us see if we can catch him. We are all happy in the hope of striking a blow that will advance our good cause. God bless you all. Kiss my children."

"TORRES VEDRAS, *December 22nd.*

"Praise be to the Almighty Lord. By His Mercy, we have obtained a great victory over Valdez, Mousinho, and Celestino. Our loss is very severe; but the force of the enemy is annihilated. Those who are not killed, dispersed, or prisoners, are up in the castle of this town surrounded by my troops, and they must surrender. God be praised for His Mercy. The Almighty knows that I am convinced it is only through His Mercy that we have gained such a glorious day. Give a kiss to my daughter; and embrace the Captain, who may now sleep at home without further anxiety.† God bless you all."

"TORRES VEDRAS, *December 23rd.*

"May the Almighty Lord be praised. Valdez, Mousinho,‡ Celestino, Fernando Villa Real,‡ Count Avilez, etc., etc., every one and every thing they had is in our possession. It was the hand of God which guided me. Thank Him, my good friend,

* The "immense force" was about half in number that which the united forces of Das Antas and Bomfim could have brought against him. The brave Marshal's plan, as we have seen, was to place himself between them. He did so. He conquered one: the other fled.

† The Marshal's son, who belonged to a Corps of Volunteers which had been kept on duty by day and night.

‡ These gentlemen, in 1837, had fought, with the Marshal, against Bomfim and Das Antas.

for His Mercy. Kiss my children. I am very tired. God bless you all."

"TORRES VEDRAS, *December 24th.*

"Great must have been the contentment in Lisbon to-day: and will be, to-morrow, when the prisoners enter. Mousinho is severely wounded. I allowed his son and two nephews to remain with him to take care of him. Thank God we conquered; but it has cost us more than 300 men in killed and wounded."

"TORRES VEDRAS, *December 25th.*

"I am taking care of our wounded. They are indeed very numerous. I will send them all to Runa,* and will leave there a good guard; and I hope to be able to march on the 28th. . . . . Mousinho's wife has just arrived to take care of her husband. He received a ball in the breast; and the surgeon is doubtful if he will survive; but is not entirely without hope. Unhappy War! But God knows that the fault is not ours."

"TORRES VEDRAS, *December 26th.*

"God knows how happy I should be if I could pass this day with you. From my heart I wish you many happy returns of the day. The Almighty has protected us, and given us so complete a victory, by His divine Will. It was only the Hand of God that could give us such an unheard of triumph on such strong positions. The Almighty will, I hope, permit that I may pass your next birthday near you. Tell John that I am very pleased with him. Everybody, even the Marquis de Fronteira, has written to me telling me how well he has fulfilled his duties. My dear daughter, as I cannot be with Mamma to-day, I am consoled by the idea that you will do everything in your power to render my absence less felt."

"TORRES VEDRAS, *December 27th.*

"On your birthday, yesterday, I sent a Courier at 11 o'clock, that you might receive my letter the same day. And what happened! Man proposes! My letter is come back, and one from Ximenes to his wife. Such was the joy of that most

* A military hospital near Torres Vedras.

excellent Under Secretary, Dantas, that he misplaced the letters. By what he writes, the good man seems to have lost his head for joy. I send it again together with this one. I will march to-morrow. Xavier—the ex-Conde das Antas—has abandoned Santarem, and his troops begin to abandon him. He will be to-morrow at Coimbra by the haste with which he goes."

"ALCOBAÇA, *December 30th.*

"Your long letter of yesterday, I received at one o'clock. I agree perfectly with you that it is most ridiculous for my sister, Maria Joanna, to write, and not to say a single word about that great event which has just taken place. But you know she is a Miguelite; and, therefore, fears that the victory of the 22nd, or of Torres Vedras, will enable me, with the help of the Lord, to put down the insurrection in the Minho in favour of D. Miguel. We must have pity on the blind. It is not from envy; it is only from party spirit that they do not enjoy the triumph of their brother. Still I must say it is foolish not to wish you joy; and yet to beg a great favour! We must let them go on as they please, and not mind it."

"LEIRIA, *December 31st.*

"I should not wonder if the Septembrists show the world what they are, and will join the Miguelites. So much the better. We are enough for both together with the help of the Lord. All the country that we leave behind us is perfectly tranquil. I hope that God will grant that this may be the last Civil War in Portugal."

CHAPTER VI.

1847.

Das Antas retreats northwards—Saldanha receives Royal Letters of thanks—Letter from the Minister of War—Recapitulation of recent events—Saldanha desires *intervention* but objects to *mediation*—Unpublished correspondence—Letter from Count do Tojal—Conduct of the Junta—Letter to the Queen—The Minister of War to Saldanha—The Queen consults him respecting terms with the Rebels—His letter to the Foreign Minister—Also to the Queen and King Consort—Sir H. Seymour urges Saldanha to accept mediation—His reply—Seymour to Palmerston—Moncorvo urges Palmerston to active measures—M. Guizot to Count St. Aulaire upon intervention—Saldanha suggests terms to Wylde—Inactivity of the Government—Letters to their Majesties—He learns that steps have been taken in London towards intervention—His indignation at the secrecy observed—Letter to the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs—That Minister's excuses—Extracts from Saldanha's notes to his wife.

THE very magnitude of the victory at Torres Vedras caused a certain amount of subsequent disappointment; as it was naturally hoped that Saldanha would be able to follow up his advantage, and pursue Das Antas who had approached him to within a certain distance. The reader, however, from the letters quoted in the preceding chapter, will understand better than it could have been understood at the time, that an immediate advance was wholly impracticable, owing to the slackness of the Government in sending supplies. For even the stock of powder, as well as of provisions, was exhausted. Indeed, the marvel is, that Das Antas should have fled to Coimbra, instead of making an attempt, with his untired forces, to retrieve the disaster of Bomfim at Torres Vedras.

In contrast to some foolish expressions of censure in the public Press, it is agreeable to read the hearty thanks and congratulations which the Queen hastened to send to her victorious

General and Army. In a special Royal Letter, her Majesty declares to Saldanha that: "The important services you have rendered to the security of my throne, and to the Constitutional Charter of the Monarchy, by the victory you gained at Torres Vedras on the 22nd of this month, having been laid before me; taking into consideration the recognised skill, discernment, and great valour shewn by you in the management of the army you command—an army whose courage and discipline have never been surpassed—by which you have rendered most important and invaluable service to the nation and to me; and wishing to give to you, upon this occasion, a public testimony of my approbation before affording you other proofs of my royal munificence, I am pleased to forward to you these my Royal Letters," etc. etc.

The Acting Minister of War, in forwarding this Royal Letter, adds the following warm expressions of his satisfaction: "You have not *covered* yourself with glory on this occasion, because you had not space for more; but you have added another page to the history of your brilliant career, and rendered a most important service to the Queen and the Nation. . . . . The worst is, that you have still to put down Das Antas and to get into Oporto; as it prevents your coming to Lisbon, where your presence is so indispensable; and the more so, that some people, who are perfectly insupportable on the subject of the victory, can only be kept in order by the sight of your moustaches. . . . . You are as necessary here when there is peace, as you are in the field when there is war."

We have already mentioned the fall of the Terceira-Cabral Ministry, in May, 1846, after it had governed the country for above four years. In vain we seek for any patriotic object in the revolution which led to this change. We can only believe that their long tenure of office had raised against the Chartist party myriads of enemies from amongst those who aspired either to the high post of Minister, or to the lowest provincial appointment. In Portugal, where the system of centralisation prevails in an extraordinary degree, an undue ministerial influence is brought to bear at elections to an extent scarcely credible to an Englishman; and still less would he imagine the amount of bribery and corruption which is attributed

by one party to the other at each succeeding election, even to this day.

When the Palmella Ministry was brought into office by the revolution of May, it abstained from no measures however unjust, arbitrary, or unconstitutional, to support itself; and it even sought to gain strength at the elections by an alliance with the Miguelite party. It was felt by the ultra-liberals, that the Queen would never cordially consent to set aside the monarchical Charter given to the country by her father, D. Pedro; and that, therefore, her presence in Portugal was a fatal obstacle to the views of that party. To prevent the attainment of their object, Saldanha, under circumstances which we need not recapitulate, undertook, on the 6th of October, to rescue the Queen from thraldom, the throne from danger, and the constitutional Charter from annihilation.

The victory at Torres Vedras, on the 22nd of December, had led the Marshal to feel assured that he could put down the rebellion without foreign interference: and had the General commanding in the north marched upon Coimbra, according to Saldanha's instructions, instead of hanging about Oporto in the hope of getting into that city, the result might have been very different, as it would have prevented Das Antas' rapid march to Oporto after his flight from Santarem.

When Saldanha became fully aware of the infamous coalition between the ultra-liberals and the Miguelites—the object of which was to drive the Queen from the Throne—he deemed his Government justified in calling upon the Powers, who signed the Quadruple Treaty of 1834, for their armed intervention. France and Spain immediately acknowledged the justice of the demand; but Lord Palmerston affected to believe that the moment had not arrived when such intervention became an obligation. Hence, Mr. Southern's endeavours to deny the importance to be attached to the Miguelite movement. When Spain, alive to her own danger should D. Miguel reascend the throne, determined to advance 10,000 men into Portugal to support the Queen, Lord Palmerston became convinced that the moment for action could no longer be deferred; but, instead of that *intervention* which the Treaty had promised,

he offered the simple *mediation* of the British Government between the Queen and the rebels. To this proposal, Saldanha indignantly refused to accede; and, as we shall shortly see, he declared that his resignation, both as the Queen's Lieutenant and as her Prime Minister, would immediately follow the appearance of a foreign mediator.

Intervention was considered by Saldanha as an obligation which the three liberal Governments, as contracting parties to the Quadruple Treaty, had entered into to protect their own interests and to preserve the balance of power in Europe: *mediation*, he looked upon as a proposal springing from a Government, (in a measure favourable to the rebels), jealous lest France and Spain should obtain a preponderating influence in Portugal.

In this and the following Chapter, some of the unpublished correspondence of the Marshal will be offered to the reader; together with such explanatory observations as will serve to elucidate succeeding events. The following letter addressed to the King Consort, while it describes the activity of the rebels, continues to draw the attention of his Majesty to the want of energy in the Government at Lisbon.

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS,
"*February 28th*, 1847.

"SIRE,

"Yesterday I had the honour of informing your Majesty that Povoas had taken the command of the forces at Oporto; a step which will undeceive the most incredulous. To-day, I have news from Lisbon of the arrival of D. Miguel in London; and of the efforts he is making to come to Oporto; which confirms the information I had already received from that city. It is indispensable that we should not delude ourselves as to our situation; and I should be wanting in a most sacred duty, if I did not offer my opinion to your Majesty with that sincerity which fealty requires. The force I can dispose of here, is, from sickness, and from the detachments sent to Estremadura and Coimbra, inferior in number to that which was under my command at Torres Vedras; and it is insufficient to commence

the siege of Oporto; which is so much to be desired. Your Majesty will remember that I have on more than one occasion, insisted upon the necessity of an additional 4,000 bayonets, to enable me to enforce a rigorous blockade; and no one will accuse me of exaggeration. Neither is it unreasonable to presume, that the increase of our forces will but continue at the same rate that it has since November 6th, when we marched from Lisbon. This, however, is not the case with the rebels; who, by the enlistments they have effected, and by their union with the Miguelites, have considerably increased their strength.

"The Miguelite conspiracy, having ramifications all over the kingdom, had attained a most perfect state of organization in Beira Alta, and upon the banks of the Mondego. The negotiations I entered into with some of the resident gentry of these districts, resulted in the promise of some of them not to war with the Government of our Lady the Queen: others gave their word of honour not to assist the cause of the Junta; excepting always that, should the principles of the old *Régime* be proclaimed in the field, they would certainly take up arms to defend them. To these negotiations, and to the rapidity with which I ordered four bodies of Infantry and two of Cavalry to traverse the Province of Beira in every direction, is due the slight response that was made to the proclamation of Povoas. Should however, D. Miguel, or his standard, appear in the field, very great will be the number who will rise in arms to follow him.

"Povoas communicated several times with Lemos, Chichorro, and Raposo; and the answer was, that they would have nothing to do with the Junta; but that they would be ready whenever the standard of D. Miguel should appear in the field.

"The small addition made to our forces during the last four months, (in spite of the victory of Torres Vedras), compared with the powerful increase of those of the Anarchists, (by the union of Povoas, Guedes, Rebocho, Bernardino, and other Miguelites), renders very doubtful the period at which this deplorable struggle will be ended; and the appearance of D. Miguel will render still more doubtful that result, if we are left to ourselves.

"The Liberal Party, when united, and with the assistance of

the allies of the Crown, conquered the Usurper at great cost. Broken up as it now is,—one part being demoralized to the point of making common cause with the Usurper; another part having become neutral; and a third damaging by its insane requirements the cause it pretends to defend;—extremely difficult will it be, if not impossible, to obtain a successful result, if the Miguelite standard is unfurled; and even if that result should be obtained, in what a condition will this miserable country be left!

"My belief is, that nobody can now doubt that the Anarchists have made an infamous pact with the followers of the Usurper, with the sole object of depriving her Majesty of her Crown. Europe cannot permit this; and still less can Spain and France. On the frontiers of Traz-os-Montes and Minho, there are two Spanish Divisions. If they were to cross the frontier, the rebellion would soon be confined within the Lines of Oporto; and speedily be crushed. Secondary considerations of pride, or momentary popularity, ought not to have any influence at so serious a crisis. I think that your Majesties and your Government ought to strain every nerve to obtain, as soon as possible, the co-operation of your Allies, and the immediate entrance of the Spanish troops. The Government of Queen Isabel has the same interest as we have, in not allowing at her next door the restoration of a Usurper; and, when once the danger of this is made manifest, I feel sure that not even the Notes of the British Minister would be an obstacle; assuming even that the British Government should offer an opposition, which does not appear possible under present circumstances.

"I know that your Majesty does justice to my feelings of devotion to the Queen, and to your Majesty and your descendants; I know that nobody can doubt the willingness with which I expose myself to danger when it is necessary for the service of your Majesties and of my Country; and, therefore, I do not hesitate to take upon myself all the weight of the senseless imprecations of those cowardly and ignorant people, who make so much noise when anything is said about *intervention*.

"I reject with all my energy the *mediation* of any Power between the Rebel Anarchists and the Crown: I demand the

armed intervention of the Allies of the Crown to sustain that Crown.

"What dishonour was it to Portugal that the Spanish troops entered it in 1834; or what did Spain lose by the efficient co-operation it received from the Portuguese Division from 1835 to 1837? How many lives, how much property, and how many disasters of all kinds, will be spared if the intervention is effected, and without delay.

"Heaven grant that your Majesties may become as convinced of the absolute necessity for the intervention of your Allies, as I am convinced that your Majesties do justice to the purity of my sentiments, &c.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

Letters from the Ministers to Saldanha, written at this and various periods, bear witness how necessary they felt was his presence at Lisbon to conciliate the rivalry of some, or to silence the opposition of others. Even the Finance Minister, Count do Tojal, writes to him on the 1st of March: "Oh, that it were possible that I could have a half hour's conference with your Excellency. Much good might result from it."

The Oporto correspondent of the "Times" estimated the Junta's forces, on the 1st of March, at seven thousand men in the city; and from two to three thousand on the north of the river within a few miles. He adds that "the true source of revolt arises from a determination not to pay the taxes:" and continues; "The conduct of the Junta is, in many things, extraordinary: one can excuse, on the ground of necessity, acts which insurgents in all ages have committed, such as levying forced loans, and calling handcuffed recruits 'volunteers;' but I know no plea on which I can explain their assumption of the royal prerogative, and their creation of dukes, marquises, and counts, at their own pleasure. They have made a Marquis of Das Antas, and a Count of Povoas, without even the form of saying they acted in the Queen's name, or by virtue of her (supposed) authority."

From the following letter, in acknowledgment of one received from the Queen herself, we find that the British Government

had now resolved to consider the renewal of the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance; and that Queen Victoria had written to the Queen to announce the fact.

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *2nd of March*, 1847.

"YOUR MAJESTY,

"A thousand times I kiss your Majesty's hand for your goodness in copying for me, in the letter I have just had the honour to receive, that part of H. M. the Queen of England's letter to your Majesty, which came by the last packet, relating to D. Miguel and the renewal of the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance. Your Majesty is, by this time, aware of my opinion on the subject, through the letter I had the honour to address to H. M. the King the day before yesterday; and I will not, therefore, again enter upon it, as I am aware that the courier arrived safely.

"From other letters we had been informed, that the Count do Tojal had read a copy of the Note addressed by the English Government to that of Spain upon the renewal of the Treaty; and, as the commanding officers who were speaking about the affair seemed to doubt the truth of the information, they were very much pleased when I was able to confirm the possibility of such an event, by the information your Majesty has been pleased to send me.

"The English Consul at Oporto was well informed when he wrote to Lisbon, saying that the Junta intended to give the command to Povoas; for they have since done so. One of the first measures taken by the new Commander was to call to their ranks all the Miguelite Officers; giving them the rank they held at the moment they laid down their arms at Evora Monte. He has also called upon all the Royalist Volunteers and Militia-men, to take up arms, under pain of imprisonment and confiscation. There can be no doubt now, that the mask has been completely thrown aside; and that, in Oporto, D. Miguel reigns under the name of the Junta. Language is too imperfect to describe the horror one feels at seeing the Duke da Terceira, in the dungeons of that city, handed over to the Miguelites by Sá da Bandeira, by Xavier, and by the Marquis de Loulé!!

"These events have changed the face of affairs; and it becomes indispensable to consider them from a different point of view.

"The Septembrist Party would have given in long ago, but for the efforts of the partisans of D. Miguel: we have, however, the advantage, now, that no one can doubt that the efforts of the Septembrists were to destroy your Majesty's Throne, which is the only motive for their unheard of union with the followers of the Usurper.

"God preserve your Majesty's precious life, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

The Minister of War wrote to the Marshal, on the 3rd of March, rejoicing at the prospect of a speedy termination of the war, as the Spanish Government had consented that a corps, for the service of the Queen, might be raised in Spain, to be composed of soldiers whose time of service had expired.

Efforts were now made at Lisbon to bring the rebels to terms without having recourse to foreign *intervention*. D. Manoel de Portugal, having been informed by Sir Hamilton Seymour of the desire of the British Government to serve as a mediator, or channel for communication, between the Lisbon Government and the Junta of Oporto, consulted various influential persons, as to the advisableness of accepting the offer. Their opinion was that, before doing so, it would be desirable to authorize Marshal Saldanha to propose an amnesty to the rebels; the terms of which were to be submitted to the Queen for her approval. If the Marshal's efforts were unsuccessful, the acceptance of the British mediation, it was said, could then be discussed. The conditions, in six articles, being submitted to the Queen, her Majesty, before approving them, ordered that Saldanha's opinion on the subject should be taken. Accordingly, he received from the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs a despatch, dated March 5th; to which he replied, on the 10th, as follows:

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *10th of March*, 1847.

"ILL^MO E EX^MO SEN^R,

"Last night, at a late hour, when returning from a

reconnaissance upon the bank of the Douro near Carvoeiro, I received your Excellency's despatch of the 5th inst.; enclosing four copies of documents, together with the unanimous resolution arrived at by persons whom your Excellency thought fit to consult upon the important subject you submitted to them, which, by order of her Majesty, your Excellency has forwarded to me, that I might give my opinion upon the matter.

"The Septembrist Party has proved to the most incredulous that, while insignificant in numbers, it is formidable by its audacity, excesses, and baseness. It was not, most assuredly, the Septembrist Party that presented itself in formidable numbers, in the field, last May. The people who rose in the Minho were under the impression that they were serving the cause of the Usurper; and they were led to the rising by the vexatious treatment they received at the hands of the local authorities. The Septembrists, like able speculators, profited by the Movement; got themselves into power; and became masters of the situation.

"The abuse they made of their position showed them in their true colours; and, recognizing their insignificance by the small acceptance the doctrines of '93, which they embraced and preached, found in the country, they looked upon their political existence as fast drawing to a close, when they saw the way in which they were supplanted, in the Capital, on the night of October 6th; and they immediately sought, from the partisans of the Usurper, the strength they needed. The advantages obtained by the loyal subjects of the Queen have forced the Junta to make patent the clandestine combinations they had made with the Miguelites; and who can now ignore that Alvaro Xavier da Fonseca Coutinho e Povoas, the Usurper's General-in-Chief, is the Commander of the Operating Division of the Junta's forces; and that all the Generals and other Officers of D. Miguel's Army, who were willing to serve the Junta, have been reinstated in the posts they held at the moment they laid down their arms at Evora Monte? Only those who, wilfully, shut their eyes to facts, can now see otherwise than that the forces under the orders of the Junta are, in reality, the armed followers of D. Miguel; and if, by the advice

of the cunning Antonio Luiz de Seabra, they have not proclaimed the Usurper, in order to avoid the intervention of her Majesty's allies, it is not the less certain that their object is the restoration of D. Miguel, in the belief that they can force him to give a Constitution!!

"Many gentlemen of the Provinces who profess the principles of the old *Régime*, and who are ready to take the field in their defence, think it beneath their dignity to submit themselves to a Junta of Demagogues; and reject, unreservedly, the offers of the Junta, while they condemn the conduct of the aged Povoas. These gentlemen are, however, decided to take up arms, the moment the standard of D. Miguel is unfurled without dissimulation. The numerical strength of this Party, more especially in the Minho, Traz-os-Montes, and Beira Alta districts, is great; and, very serious will be the consequences, if it should rise in arms. For these motives, I consider it absolutely necessary to conclude, without delay, a Convention with England and Spain; that those countries may render that assistance which may be requisite for sustaining the Throne of her Majesty and the Constitutional Monarchy, against the efforts of the followers of the Usurper; and I entirely and absolutely agree with the unanimous opinion of the persons your Excellency called together, as expressed in the § which commences:—'Upon the first point they agreed that . . . . . might be authorised;' and concludes; 'by an Additional Article, dated 13th of March, in that year, became as of no effect.' It appears to me that in the Convention it is essential that a general clause should be inserted, providing against any attempt whatever, whose object may be to dethrone her Majesty the Queen; for it is no secret to your Excellency, that, at Oporto, on many occasions, there has been question of proclaiming the son of the ex-Marquis de Loulé, as grandson of D. João VI.; or, as a last resource, to force the Queen to abdicate in favour of her son . . . . . "

The remainder of the letter is missing; but, as the opinion of Saldanha, on the subject, is to be found in subsequent letters, the loss is not of importance.

Meanwhile, similar suggestions (that direct overtures should

be made to the Junta previous to any foreign intervention) were offered to the Marshal by Col. Wylde on behalf of Lord Palmerston, who considered that the fact of such overtures having been made, even if without success, would clear the course to be followed by his Government.

But, at last, notwithstanding Saldanha's objections to British mediation, the inevitable force of circumstances overruled his repugnance. His victory at Torres Vedras had never been followed up from lack of reinforcements and supplies; and, feeling that a successful attack on Oporto was hopeless, he determined to advise the Queen to accept the proffered mediation. In the three following letters, however, we find that he laid before their Majesties his unaltered conviction that no permanent good could ensue from such mediation; and he claims to be relieved from his command before the arrival of the mediator; so as to be no party to what, he felt assured, would conduce neither to the pacification of the country, nor to the stability of the Queen's throne.

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, 13*th of March*, 1847.

"SIRE,

"Filled with the most sincere regret, I find myself under the painful necessity of begging your Majesty, as Commander-in-Chief, to be pleased to name a General to take the command of the troops confided to me by your Majesty. From the letter I received yesterday from the War Office, dated the 11th inst., I feel convinced that the Government does not view the state of affairs in a true light; and that it is impossible to increase the loyal forces, at a similar rate to that by which those of the Rebels are daily augmented. The consequence is, that, ere long, the enemy will be able to act on the offensive; and that we, not being able to defend the ground we hold—as much by the want of moral as of physical strength—will be forced to abandon it, and to submit eventually to the dictates of the conqueror. In such circumstances, I do not hesitate to declare, that I consider it indispensable to accept the mediation offered by the English Government as soon as possible. But, as I continue to look upon that step with the

horror I always did, I shall esteem it a great favour if your Majesty will be pleased to name the Officer who is to succeed me, the moment the English negotiator arrives at Oporto.

"With the most profound respect, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, 13*th March*, 1847.

"YOUR MAJESTY,

"On more than one occasion, I have had the honour of remarking to your Majesty how necessary it was that we should not deceive ourselves as to our situation; and that the movements of your Majesty's Government, compared with the frenzied activity of the 'Junta' of Oporto, must necessarily bring about fatal consequences to your Majesty's Cause. From the view of affairs which Lord Palmerston takes, it is clear that your Majesty was right, when you were pleased to inform me, that we must rely solely upon our own resources. But this does not appear to be the opinion of the Government; or they must be labouring under some delusion as regards the state of things.

"The candour with which I made known to your Majesty, (when I had the honour of explaining the course which ought to be followed in forming the Ministry of October 6th), that if the result did not correspond to your wishes, your Majesty would be forced to leave Portugal, leads me now to declare that, left to our own resources, and the Government following the path it has never yet deviated from, (whilst the Junta by every possible means increases its resources), the final result cannot but be disastrous for your Majesty, for your Dynasty, and for every Portuguese who loyally adheres to you.

"The letters I yesterday received from the War Office, are the most convincing proof of what I can expect from the present Government, in the way of reinforcements, to enable me to put down the rebellion. If, at this moment, we have not a force equal to those of the Anarchists and Miguelites; and our's remains stationary, whilst their's increases daily both in numbers and in discipline, (for the Miguelite Officers will soon make the popular battalions equal to the regiments of the

Line), in a few months the balance will be against us, and the struggle will come to an unfortunate end.

"Firm in this conviction, I perceive the necessity of accepting the mediation offered by the British Government; but as I have always opposed such an expedient, and shall always oppose it to the utmost, I find myself forced to request your Majesty to grant me my exoneration from the command of the forces entrusted to me, so that I may be able to leave the country the moment the English Negotiator arrives at Oporto.

"With the greatest respect and gratitude, I have the honour, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, 14*th of March*, 1847.

"SIRE,

"This morning I sent my Aide-de-Camp, Don Miguel Ximenes, with a letter which he will have the honour to present to your Majesty. A few moments ago, I received the enclosed from Oporto. By it, your Majesty will perceive that two officers of the English Navy, two engineers, nine sailors and a stoker have arrived at that city and, what is more, you will find that the Junta has chartered three vessels to equip for warfare. They are making preparations of every kind; whilst we are slumbering on, trusting I know not to what. This letter entirely justifies my mode of looking at our position; and it leads me with the greatest candour and sincerity; and, as God can witness, from no other motive but the love I bear your Majesties, to implore you, either to form a strong, decided, energetic Ministry capable of emulating the activity of the Rebel Junta (though rather late); or else immediately to accept the British mediation offered by Lord Palmerston. Trusting that, in the latter case, your Majesty will be pleased to nominate my successor, or allow me to hand over my authority to the officer next in command, the moment the British Negotiator reaches Oporto, I have, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

Saldanha's opposition to any mediation between the Queen

and the rebels soon became known at Lisbon. Naturally there was one, the British Minister, who would especially regret this opposition to what Lord Palmerston was desirous of. Sir Hamilton Seymour, accordingly, wrote to the Marshal, urging upon him to accept the English mediation. The following is the reply of Saldanha :—

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS,
"*March 25th*, 1847.

"SIR,

"I have just this moment received your letter of the 16th instant. Although I have not the honour of being personally acquainted with you, I have the greatest confidence in your character. My opinion being founded on what I have heard from more than one crowned head, I cannot have the least difficulty in entering most heartily with you on a subject of which legitimate royalty is the object. For the sincerity of what I am going to write, I appeal to the testimony of my old friend, Colonel Wylde.

"I would indeed consider myself a most despicable character, if, unnecessarily, or actuated by any considerations whatever, except those of the defence of the Crown, and of the security of the person of H. M. F. Majesty, and of the continuation of her dynasty, I should protract this terrible war for one single moment.

"Can you propose means for its termination consistent with the dignity of the Throne; and which will put out of all doubt, not only at the present moment, but for the future, the continuance of the reign of her Majesty Queen D. Maria, with that independence inherent to a constitutional monarch? If you can, and if you succeed, you will deserve the blessings of a whole nation, torn by the hatred of a few degenerate individuals against their gracious Sovereign.

"If, to accomplish such a glorious deed, the sacrifice of my political existence should be required, do not hesitate, Sir. I give you full powers to dispose of it, so little am I actuated by any personal or selfish feelings.

"To undertake this, you ought to be well-informed of the true

situation of affairs; of the real causes which decided her Majesty to the change of the Administration that took place on the night of the 6th of October; and of the manner in which it was done. My correspondence with Colonel Wylde will enable you to form your judgment; and you may depend upon its correctness.

"I am anxious that my answer to your letter may reach you soon. I will only add, that the determination of forcing the Queen to quit the country has long been decided upon by the leaders at Oporto.

"Passos Manoel himself assured a distinguished foreigner, who saw him lately at Oporto, that he was charged by D. Miguel to prepare a new Constitution; inviting him, at the same time, to be one of his Ministers. By the last packet, the two brothers Passos received each of them a letter from D. Miguel.

"I have, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

From the following extracts from Sir Hamilton's despatches to Lord Palmerston, it is evidently his desire to put a gentle pressure upon his Chief, when he found that the real state of affairs was totally different to that which Palmerston had hitherto assumed it to be. He writes on the 19th of March:—

"It cannot, I think, be doubted that the Miguelites are in force at Oporto: that they are countenanced, not only by persons of the lower classes, but by many nobles and influential persons spread throughout the country. I do not doubt, either, that, seeing that an open avowal of their principles and objects would call down the interference of England, these adherents to the cause of despotism have thought it advisable to make common cause with the constitutional revolters, for the purpose, with them, of overthrowing the Queen's authority; but still with the intention of displaying their own colours, and of carrying out, if possible, their own views, at some more favourable opportunity. . . . . Seeing as I do, the daily increasing difficulties and dangers of Portugal, I would entreat your Lordship to bestow your earliest and best attention upon the subject; and to endeavour, by every means at the disposal of her Majesty's

Government, to bring the present intestine struggle to an immediate, if not a satisfactory conclusion."

When Lord Palmerston saw that both France and Spain were ready to intervene, even if England thought proper to find excuses for not performing her part in carrying out the provisions of the Quadruple Treaty, he instructed Sir H. Seymour to endeavour to persuade the Portuguese Government to offer terms to the rebels. In reply, Sir Hamilton wrote to Lord Palmerston, (March 2nd), as follows:—

"Colonel Wylde and myself have held two or three conversations with Count Tojal upon the urgent necessity of making some attempt to put an end to the civil dissensions by which the country is torn; and I am bound to say that he has met our overtures in a friendly and encouraging manner."

It was after this, as we have seen, that Sir Hamilton made an appeal to the Marshal towards removing his objections to mediation. But the Portuguese Government itself had little faith in the plan for bringing the rebels to terms: for we find that, on the 19th of March, D. Manoel de Portugal wrote to the Baron de Moncorvo requesting him to urge on Lord Palmerston the necessity of agreeing to a combined action with France and Spain. He wrote: "The primary and notorious object of both of them (Septembrists and Miguelites), is to hurl from the Throne her Majesty, whose person and dynasty are the greatest obstacles to their criminal ends."

M. Guizot, writing, on the 18th of March, to the Count de St. Aulaire, the French Ambassador at London, declares his opinion "that what is now taking place in Portugal, and particularly the presence there of Count Povoas, the Miguelite General, in the midst of the insurgents at Oporto, and the authority which he is exercising there, justify the step taken by the Court of Lisbon to obtain the assistance of Spanish troops. . . . . I beg you to inform me, without delay, of the intention which may be manifested to you by the Secretary of State of her Britannic Majesty."

So far from not wishing to put an end to the civil war, Saldanha wrote, on the 2nd of April, to Colonel Wylde, suggesting terms: but he expressed a desire to obtain some

kind of guarantee that the rebels would remain quiet for, at least, some time to come. He furnished the Colonel with such proposals as he thought he might honourably counsel the Queen to make to the rebels, on their laying down their arms; and he assured him that if, by his assistance, the shedding of more blood was prevented, by the rebels being induced to accept the offered terms, he would be entitled to the blessings of every Portuguese.

One of the objections made to these terms was, that some of the rebel leaders, as a guarantee for their future conduct, were to leave the country for a period of six years. As these overtures failed, it is needless to enlarge on the particulars of them.*

Four letters are now given in full which were addressed to their Majesties within ten days! They have a special value for their singularly outspoken terms; written by one indifferent to being considered "an enemy for telling the truth." The possibility of success before Oporto had almost disappeared; and a large rebel force was allowed to hold the Alemtejo undisturbed. To such a climax had the inactivity of the Ministers arrived, that not merely was the Marshal still left without any addition to his inadequate and even diminishing force, but his

* But we will offer to the reader that which Lord Palmerston wrote to Colonel Wylde respecting Saldanha's views and intentions:

"Saldanha and the Queen appear now disposed towards a settlement by negociation, in order to avoid the loss of Portuguese life and the destruction of Portuguese property." And Palmerston, although thinking that the Queen ought not, "for the present at least," to bring into office the Cabrals, adds: "Of course she would not be expected to exclude them for ever from power." He continues: "The general basis should, I think, be amnesty for the mass of the insurgents; precautions as to some of the chiefs and leaders. That security was wisely and liberally stated in Saldanha's articles, to consist in their temporary retirement from Portugal; the military so retiring to have half pay for their support." In a Memorandum, dated March, 1847, Palmerston himself recommends:—"*some few, and very few—probably not above ten—of the leading members of the Junta to retire for two or three years from Portugal.* . . . M. Dietz to leave Portugal by the very next packet; and the system of the Camarilla Government to be for ever left off." He also writes to Sir H. Seymour: "I have no fresh instructions to give you, unless you could pack Dietz up in a box, nail him down, and send him by the next packet."

very letters of remonstrance were left unacknowledged. He is thus driven to passionate appeals to their Majesties to substitute for the present one, a Ministry of more energy; or to hasten the mediation, now that the Alemtejo was almost lost, and the day actually fixed for the rising of the Beiras. The reader will not wonder that letters, written under such provocations, should be somewhat peremptory in tone, considering that they were written by one who looked upon the Cause, to which he was ready to sacrifice his very life as well as his military reputation, as ruined by the apathy or neglect of the governing powers.

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *April 2nd*, 1847.

"SIRE,

"The bad management of the operations in the Alemtejo has permitted the increase of the rebel forces in that province; and the probable disembarkation to the south of the Tagus of the troops which have left Oporto will give them the upper hand, if the same state of affairs is allowed to continue. It was for this reason, that I requested yesterday, by telegraph, your Majesty's orders as to Count de Vinhaes taking the command to the south of the Tagus. I have not yet had an answer, although various telegraphic messages have since reached me. To-day, however, I have received a letter from the Minister of War, in which he informs me, that the enemy has collected in the Alemtejo, 2,400 men; and, that to oppose them, an equal number is requisite. He says he does not know how he is to get them, considering that it has not yet been possible to obtain the number of bayonets for which I have so long been asking, in order to enable me to effect the blockade of Oporto. I think it absolutely necessary to finish as speedily as possible with the rebels to the south of the Tagus; that we may be able, afterwards, to put an end to those in the north. To do this, with the forces at our disposal, the following measures are necessary; and I request your Majesty's authorization to carry them out.

"1st. To order Count do Casal's Division to cross the Douro and occupy the left bank of that river: thus covering Beira Alta.

"2nd. To place the forces on the south of the Tagus under the command of Count de Vinhaes.

"3rd. To order the column which left Lisbon in the direction of Peniche, under the orders of Colonel Abreu, to march into that Province.

"4th. To pass to the south of the Tagus a brigade commanded by Baron de Villa Nova de Ourem.

"Count de Vinhaes, with these forces, would, in a few weeks, finish with the rebels in the south; and the troops under his command would then come and assist me to shut up in Oporto the rebels of the north.

"I beg your Majesty will be pleased to let me know, as soon as possible, if these measures meet with your approval.

"I have also had the honour of laying before her Majesty the Queen my ideas as to the concessions which may be made to the rebels, for the purpose of bringing the struggle to an end without further recourse to arms.

"I have, etc., etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *April 3rd*, 1847.

"SIRE,

"On the 31st, by telegraph, I proposed that Count de Vinhaes should go and take the command of the forces in the Alemtejo; and I requested your Majesty's orders on that point. By 4 o'clock, we had received the announcement that the message had reached Lisbon. Afterwards, several messages came from Lisbon and Coimbra, but none in answer to mine; and, what is more, the post, which left Lisbon many hours after my telegraphic message had arrived there, came in yesterday, and not a word did I receive upon this subject. Thus, in an affair about which not a moment should have been lost, four days, including the present, have gone by. This very day, Count de Vinhaes might have set out from Lisbon for Alemtejo, if your Majesty approved of my idea; but, as yet, we know nothing as to your Majesty's wishes.

"This circumstance, in an affair which required so little trouble, and brought no responsibility with it, shows what will

happen with others which are arduous and difficult, and imply responsibility; and it is, therefore, a strong proof of the justice with which I begged of your Majesty a Cabinet that should be active and decided. Your Majesties thought fit to pay no attention to my representation; and I found myself forced to make the greatest sacrifice of all the sacrifices I have offered upon the steps of the Throne, and upon the Altar of my Country, by continuing in the command, after receiving such a proof of the little consideration I am thought worthy of.

"My love for your Majesties, and complete dedication to your persons, and to your august children, as well as my duty to those who, like me, have compromised themselves, imposed upon me the great sacrifice of continuing to command these troops.

"Sire, I lose much; perhaps even my reputation, which is the only heritage I can leave to my children; but your Majesties lose much more than I do, when the Cause we are defending is thus damaged.

"I respectfully kiss your Majesty's hand, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *April 5th*, 1847.

"SIRE,

"Yesterday, by telegraph, Baron da Ponte da Barca requested that Ximenes should be immediately sent by the mail to Coimbra; he went, and has returned bearing the following important message.

"'The Miguelite Junta of Lisbon expressed to Lemos de Condeixa its surprise that he had not followed Povoas' movement. Lemos replied, that he was ready to sacrifice himself for D. Miguel; and as, a short time back, he received positive orders from the Usurper, acquainting him that Povoas was the person to whom he had delegated his authority, he did not hesitate a moment in addressing himself to Povoas, placing himself at his orders. In consequence of their combinations, the rising of the entire province of Beira Alta is to take place next Friday or Saturday; it is also determined, that Povoas is to cross the Douro and march upon Vizeu; at the same time

that the ex-Count das Antas is to threaten us with an attack from the front.' In consequence of this communication, the exactitude and veracity of which we cannot doubt, the passage of Count do Casal to the left bank of the Douro, respecting which I consulted your Majesty on the 2nd inst., has become an absolute necessity; and I am going, therefore, to give the necessary orders that it may be immediately effected.

"João de Lemos, (cousin of Francisco de Lemos de Condeixa), one of the principal Miguelite Agents, after refusing Povoas' invitation, went to England, and has just returned from that country with Miguel's command to his partisans, to obey the orders of Povoas.

"D. Miguel has bound himself to come to Portugal the moment the popular movement has gained such proportions as to enable him to dispense with the Junta of Oporto and the Septembrists, and when his forces have attained such numbers as will prove to all Europe that the movement is national, and thus preclude foreign intervention.

"I kiss respectfully your Majesty's and the Queen's royal hands, and am

"Your Majesty's faithful subject and sincere friend,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *April 11th*, 1847.

"YOUR MAJESTY,

"The day before yesterday I had the honour of receiving your Majesty's letter of the 4th inst.; a day truly important for Portugal,* which the loyal Army kept, as well as it could, on the 7th; being unable to do so earlier, on account of the bad weather.

"Your Majesty is pleased to say that neither your Majesty, nor I, nor any of those who contributed to take the reins of power out of the hands of the anarchists, had any idea of trusting to foreign assistance, since the Cause was declared from the commencement to be purely Portuguese. Undoubtedly, your Majesty, no one had such an idea; but all of us reckoned upon

* The Queen's birthday.

having to employ every means we could lay hold upon to insure its triumph. It was my thorough conviction that the Ministry had not laid hold upon all the means at its disposal; and that the continuance of such a method of proceeding (or rather the absence of that method which is indispensable in the crisis we are traversing, so much at variance with the frenzied activity of the rebel Junta) must, necessarily, be fatal, which decided me to send Colonel Ximenes to your Majesty to request the organization of an active and decided Administration; such a one as would ensure the prompt triumph of the Cause we are defending. Or, if your Majesty thought it desirable not to change your Ministers, but to accept the Mediation offered by the English Government, I begged to be succeeded in the command of the troops, the moment the Mediation was decided upon.

"This request of mine, as, thank God, I can assert of every act of my public life, had no other motive than the purest zeal for your Majesty's service, and the sincere expression of my own convictions. I esteem, sincerely, all the Ministers; I am a particular friend of each of them; I desire, from the bottom of my heart, their happiness as I desire my own; but, my duty to your Majesty, to your dynasty, and to the men who compromised themselves with me, is of more weight than my friendship towards them.

"If the continuation of the present Ministry is decided upon, I ask for foreign mediation; for, if the inactivity of the Government continues, the negotiation would be much more advantageous now than a few months hence. Prince Metternich, in the name of the three great Northern Powers, laboured, ineffectually, for several months, to arrange a marriage between the Queen of Spain and the son of Don Carlos: if he had made that proposal when Don Carlos, with 60,000 men, was in possession of the provinces to the north of the Ebro, he would certainly have effected his object immediately. Your Majesty did not think fit to attend to my representations; and, from that moment, I felt the deepest grief. For the love of God, I beg your Majesty not to be so unjust as to imagine that this grief arises from a feeling of injured pride, or from any feeling

of a personal nature; its sole origin is in the fatal result I foresee for the holiest, the most just, and the best of Causes.

"If men of action and superior intelligence had been called to govern, they would have grasped the powerful resources we still possess; the continuation of the present system may ruin everything.

"When 16 years of age, I commanded a Company. In the 42 years I have served, I have repeatedly held the highest offices of the State. On more than one occasion, I have sacrificed fortune and honour to my fidelity to my legitimate Sovereign. I know the world; and cold ingratitude has often been my only reward. My knowledge of men, and especially of those who have figured on our political stage, led me to refuse, during many weeks, to take an active part against the Anarchists when they were in power; and it was not the desire either of glory or power which overcame my repugnance and caused me to yield: it was, solely, the hope that I should be able to contribute to free your Majesty from the painful position in which you were placed; and to assist in the improvement of the condition of the Portuguese people,—so worthy of a better lot.

"I have done all that was in my power. Your Majesty is aware of how much was effected during the 29 days I acted as Minister of the Crown before leaving Lisbon. Your Majesty, during my absence, has found more enlightened counsellors than myself; and has preferred their advice to my entreaties. I do not complain, but I cannot abstain from repeating to your Majesty the protest I have already made, by declaring that I consider myself free of all responsibility if the result should be disastrous.

* * * * *

"With the most profound respect, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

Some steps having been taken in London respecting Intervention, for which Lord Palmerston now began to see the necessity, greatly was Saldanha surprised when he obtained the first notice of them through a Coimbra newspaper. Well may he have felt indignation, that he, the President of the Ministry,

the War Minister, and Foreign Secretary, should be left to glean tidings, through such a channel, of the most important matters. We present the Marshal's letter to the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, together with the lame apology of that official in reply.

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *April 16th*, 1847.

"MY DEAR MANOEL,

"The 'Boletim Cartista' of Coimbra has made me acquainted with the communication you received from Baron de Moncorvo, respecting what had passed between Lord Palmerston and the Spanish and French Ambassadors with regard to the Intervention. I have now received letters which refer to meetings of the Ministers and other persons upon this subject; one of which asserts that England wishes to impose the condition, that everything shall be restored to the state it was on the 6th of October! Tell me, if you were in my position and I in yours, what would you think of my silence? Certainly, I have passed through some terrible moments. Adieu.

"Your true friend,

"SALDANHA."

In reply, D. Manoel excused himself by asserting that he presumed that their Majesties had already acquainted Saldanha with the facts referred to; and informed him briefly that "the British Government, having been applied to for assistance, had declared that it could give none; and could only offer its services as mediator with the rebel Junta of Oporto." After several long debates, both in the Council of Ministers and in the Council of State, her Majesty had resolved to accept the English mediation; stipulating, as a primary condition, that the Members of the Junta and the Commanders of the Forces should leave the country. The Acting Minister further states, that Renduffe and Bayard had been empowered to treat with the British Minister at Lisbon; and declared, that he had immediately begged the Queen to grant him his exoneration, not wishing to be a party to an act of national humiliation.

It will relieve this painful portion of the biography to insert here, as at the conclusion of a previous chapter, some

extracts from Saldanha's home letters. They show how soon he could rise superior even to the most justifiable anger; how his heart was cheered by such intercourse with his absent family; and how he could, as it were, take his place in the home-circle for which he felt such "saudades."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *March 1st*, 1847.

"Yes. Xavier begins to receive the reward of his deeds. Povoas now commands in his stead, and he only figures as President of the Junta. D. Miguel is in London, and wanted to come to Porto by the last Packet. He was prevented from so doing; but this only showed to the British Government the truth of my assertions: and I am happy to tell you that, in case it will be thought necessary, we are certain of the co-operation of England and Spain with their armies and fleet. . . . . It would be curious to see Sá da Bandeira and Xavier kissing the hand of D. Miguel! But they are already serving with Povoas, who was the Usurper's Commander-in-Chief! What infamous wretches. . . . . The Count da F. . . . . was always a good man; and he has good sense, which is worth more than the most transcendent talent without it."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *March 2nd*, 1847.

"I am very happy to tell you that England and Spain are ready to interfere when it will be thought necessary. I have every day more *saudades* of you all."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *March 6th*, 1847.

"We have had a very rigorous winter; and vegetation is very backward. But the time is approaching when we shall be able, if necessary, to encamp the soldiers. Hard is the life of a soldier. It is four months to-day since we left Lisbon. How rapidly time flows, and how soon we arrive at the last period of our existence, with as much love, with as much madness for the things of this world, as if we were to last for ever. Thank God Almighty who brought us up in the bosom of the true religion, which teaches us to despise the world, and to appreciate this life at its true value."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *March 10th*, 1847.

"I did not write yesterday, because I went to reconnoitre the passage of the Douro called Carvoeiro, and to bring a great quantity of *milho* (maize) that the rebels intended to take to Porto. We brought one thousand alqueires of it. . . . . I am very sorry that Sousa Azevedo has left the administration; although the infamous lies spread against him injured his reputation to the point, that his leaving the Ministry was absolutely necessary. The same thing will happen to me, when I am there, and they no longer want my sword. But I will not give them time; for I will quit the Ministry the moment I reach Lisbon."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *March 11th*, 1847.

"I am so glad that my dear wife is better. The fine weather will soon bring you about, and then you must go out as often as possible. The fine weather increases my *saudades;* and what a life of toil is mine. God help me. The great thing is to recollect that this is only a passage to life everlasting, and to despise the pleasures and inconveniences of the present, as they both merit. May God grant us that cheerfulness which proceeds from His Divine Grace, and all will go on well."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *March 20th*, 1847.

"I do not doubt of the fact mentioned by Luiz Pinto about the poor woman and her children starving. It is a horrible idea. Such a thing formerly used never to happen! And how many are swimming in abundance! My poor country! And what a good people! So well inclined: so good in disposition: so docile: and with such aptitude for the arts and sciences. The deuce take the infamous political agitators who have brought us to the sad state in which we are. If the love of country animated but a tenth part of those who have influence, soon would our misfortunes be at an end."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *March 24th*, 1847.

"Ah, my good friend, we will try to marry our children, and then, like two old fogies, we will put ourselves in some corner,

and take care of our souls. How I pity those who do not enjoy the sweets of true devotion."

The Duchess having mentioned reports at Lisbon respecting the health of Saldanha's forces, the Marshal writes: "The health of my people is excellent. As vozes do burro não chegam ao leão. (The brayings of the ass do not reach the lion.) I do not complain of their lies; but of the foolish credulity of our people that believe what they say, notwithstanding their falsehood has been proved thousands of times."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *April 8th*, 1847.

"We had yesterday (her Majesty's birthday) a grand review and afterwards Mass. It was a most imposing scene. All the ground covered with troops in fighting order; and all the neighbouring hills crowned with peasants on their knees adoring the Almighty. Afterwards, the troops occupied various fields, where they had a good mess of meat, bacon, and rice, together with white bread and wine. The officers, to the number of 440, dined with me. The table was quite to the satisfaction of José Vicente, who was enchanted with everything. At night we had an illumination, in which appeared a portrait of the Queen, painted by one of my officers. . . . . I send you the Ode, written by Cabreira, which was recited at the time we drank to the health of the Queen. May God make her as happy as she deserves to be. She is a noble being, and capable of great things."

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *April 9th*, 1847.

"It is more than 3 months since I have left off wine. The acidity of wine I found to disagree with me. I drink, at dinner, a large glass of water, with sugar and one spoonful of brandy. I am so accustomed to this, that, yesterday, when I tasted wine at dinner, it was so disagreeable to me, that I was obliged to drink the healths with my usual beverage. For the first few weeks, I confess that I made some sacrifice: but now I prefer it to wine; and it is certainly better for the health."

CHAPTER VII.

1847 CONCLUDED.

Lord Palmerston's proposals—Terms to be offered to the Junta—Despatches from Bulwer and Seymour—Nefarious scheme of the Rebel Party—Described by Sir H. Seymour and by Colonel Wylde—Saldanha's letters to the Queen, the King, and the Home Minister—Letters to the War Minister and to the King—Change of Ministry imminent—Queen sends for Saldanha—His letter to her—Saldanha exonerated—Ill-wording of the Decree—Protocol sent to Saldanha—Proclamation and amnesty approved by Seymour and Wylde—Saldanha's notes to his wife—His letter to the King—Bulwer informs Palmerston of a probable armed Spanish intervention—Exasperation of the Junta—Attempted rising in Lisbon—Wyldé recommends an armistice to the Rebels—They refuse it—Their troops insist upon fighting—And are vanquished—Wylde and a Spanish officer go to Oporto—Wylde considers his Mission at an end—Protocol signed by Palmerston, Isturitz, and Jarnac—Das Antas surrenders—Saldanha's letters to his wife and to the King—Terms of Amnesty offered—Sá surrenders—Convention of Gramido signed—The Queen's troops enter Oporto—Saldanha visits the north—His correspondence with Wylde—Tragic end of the Minister Bayard—Saldanha arrives at Lisbon—He sees Seymour—His letter to the King—New Ministry—Saldanha named Minister at Madrid—Offered Legation at Rio—Thomar returns—Seymour's dinner—Ministerial difficulties—Saldanha consulted—Becomes Premier—Letters from ex-Minister Castro.

WE will now proceed to describe the measures which were taken to bring this disastrous civil war to a conclusion.

On the 5th of April, Lord Palmerston wrote privately to Sir Hamilton Seymour, declaring that "Her Majesty's Government are prepared, if the Junta should refuse the reasonable arrangements which the Queen of Portugal intends to make known to them, to enter into concert with the Governments of France and Spain, in order to settle the best means of affording to H.M.F. Majesty such effectual assistance as may enable her to re-establish internal tranquillity in her dominions."

With this object, Lord Palmerston proposed that Colonel Wylde should be empowered to proceed to Oporto, and to offer the following terms to the Junta; which, he adds, her Majesty's Government can entertain no doubt will be gratefully accepted.

"First. A full and general amnesty for all political offences committed since the beginning of October last; and an immediate recall of all persons who, since that time, have been sent out of Portugal for political reasons.

"Secondly. An immediate revocation of all the decrees which have been issued since the beginning of October last, and which infringe upon, or conflict with, the established law and Constitution of the kingdom.

"Thirdly. A convocation of the Cortes so soon as the elections, which are to take place without delay, shall have been completed.

"Fourthly. The immediate appointment of an Administration, composed of men not belonging to the party of the Cabrals, nor being members of the Oporto Junta."

With respect to the second of these articles, it was assumed, but, we believe, without foundation, that the Constitution of the kingdom had been infringed.

As to the fourth, the expression "Cabral party" is a very vague one, even if such an exception could in any way be justified.

But there was a separate condition insisted upon in Lord Palmerston's despatch, and that was the departure of M. Dietz.

"Unless M. Dietz leaves Portugal, all other arrangements, and all attempts to reconcile the Court and the discontented part of the nation, will be vain; and Colonel Wylde must not, under any circumstances, leave Lisbon for Oporto, until M. Dietz has embarked and sailed for England. His departure is a *sine quâ non* condition of any step whatever, on the part of her Majesty's Government, to interfere in any way in the affairs of Portugal."

If Lord Palmerston anticipated that these conditions would be "gratefully accepted" by the rebels, he felt, at the same time, that the "Court might demur;" although he thought it "scarcely possible." And, he adds, should Marshal Sal-

danha resign; "according to this plan, that resignation would become comparatively unimportant; because, if the Junta submit, any General may be competent to command an army, which, in that case, will have no military operations to perform."

That Lord Palmerston was anxious to hasten the termination of the war by his own pacific endeavours, so as to avoid the threatened intervention of Spain, we may reasonably conclude by the following extract from a despatch he received from Mr. Bulwer, which was dated April 6th.

"The British Government must be prepared for the armed Intervention of Spain in Portugal: it may happen in spite of all my efforts."

On the same day that Lord Palmerston received the above communication, his sympathy for the rebels must have been weakened; and any doubt he may have felt as to the dishonesty of their ultimate intentions must have been dispelled by the following extract from a despatch addressed to him by Sir H. Seymour.

"Men are apt to be clear sighted as to their personal interests, particularly when connected with money; and, I am bound to state, that of the merchants and other persons concerned in business and finance, there is not one with whom I have conversed since my arrival here who has concealed from me his conviction that the success of the revolutionary cause would be the immediate precursor of an act, by which the foreign debt of the country (amounting to nine millions and a half sterling) would be cancelled."

Some of the supporters of the rebel party,—we do not pretend that it was with the cognizance or authority of the chiefs,—seeing every probability of the eventual failure of their plans, determined upon a bold and nefarious scheme, which should create confusion in the Capital, and facilitate the operations of the revolted army on the other side of the Tagus, should it attempt to march upon Lisbon. Sir Hamilton Seymour, on the 14th of April, thus informs Lord Palmerston of the meditated intentions of the rebels.

"The plan of the anarchist party was, in a few words, as

follows :—To create a disturbance on the night of the 11th instant; and, with this view, to set fire to some old houses in various parts of the town; at the same time, to force the prison doors, thereby letting loose some 1200 or 1400 prisoners; and, as regards the convicts, the task was rendered easy by an understanding which existed between the revolters and the persons entrusted with the custody of the prisoners.

"I may observe that the information was derived from quarters so little connected with the Government, that I was able to supply the Minister of War with some details of which he was ignorant."

Admiral Sir William Parker, in combination with Sir H. Seymour and the Portuguese Government, took such precautions as secured the safety of the city. Sir Hamilton had proposed that, in case of danger, the Queen and the Princes should go on board a Portuguese man-of-war. Her Majesty declined doing so; and Sir Hamilton very justly remarks; that "the Queen's firmness has not been for a moment shaken."

Colonel Wylde informs Lord Palmerston that:

"There was an attempt made to produce the threatened insurrection here, on Sunday night, by a Company of the Volunteer Artillery, who, it appears, had not been informed in time that the general outbreak was put off in consequence of the insurgent force not arriving in the neighbourhood as was expected; and, still more, from the position taken up by our squadron. The men rose upon their officers, but were speedily overcome with the loss of only one man killed; and sixty of them were sent prisoners to the Bugio Fort the next morning."

Her Majesty, at this time, having sent to the Marshal a copy of the conditions proposed by the British Government to be offered to the rebels, with an understanding that, these being rejected, England would consent to an intervention of the three Powers, Saldanha replied as follows:

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *April 17th*, 1847.

"YOUR MAJESTY,

"To-day I had the honour of receiving your Majesty's letter of the 12th inst., in which your Majesty was pleased to

transcribe the four conditions, in consideration of which, Lord Palmerston, in the name of the British Government, binds himself that the rebel Junta shall submit to your Majesty.

'If these conditions had been presented by the Minister of the United States, they could not but create surprise; but, emanating from the Minister of a Monarchical Government, it is difficult to conceive how such a proposal can have been made.

"Such conditions, your Majesty, are inadmissible. Still, I fancy, it may not be impossible to obtain such modifications as the dignity of your Majesty's Crown renders necessary; and, when once that is secure, although at the cost of other sacrifices, I consider that we ought to accept the intervention.

"Whatever difficulties arise in the future, owing to a greater latitude in the concessions than in those I had mentioned in the 'Project' I had the honour of submitting to your Majesty, can be overcome by a wise and just Administration, guided by your Majesty's maternal solicitude.

"The letter I had the honour of addressing to his Majesty the King, on the 11th inst., presents our military situation in its true colours; and it appears to me that it ought to be taken into consideration, when the serious question of the intervention is treated of. Another point to be considered, and which I think ought not lightly to be passed over, is the natural disposition and mode of proceeding of the Minister * who made those proposals, even when treating with the Greater Powers. If his pride should be hurt by the rejection of the conditions; his somewhat violent manner of doing things might lead him to more extraordinary acts than the presentation of the four Articles before us. God preserve your Majesty's precious existence, and inspire you with the means of saving the Nation from the unfortunate state in which it is.

"I humbly kiss your Majesty's hand, etc.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

At the same time, the Marshal emphatically expressed his opinion of these Articles in a letter to the King; and, even more

* Lord Palmerston.

forcibly, when, writing to the Viscount de Oliveira, who had sent him the four Articles, he says: "I am thoroughly convinced that the English conditions are so inadmissible, that her Majesty might reply as D. Pedro, the son of Affonso IV., did to his father: 'Sire, at such a price, I do not wish for the Throne.'"

Still anxious to modify Lord Palmerston's proposals, and to render them more compatible with the dignity of the Crown, Saldanha wrote to the War Minister, and desired him to obtain the influence of Spain in support of his views.

But the Marshal had evidently not been kept informed of the manner in which the kindly overtures of Spain had been met: hence the following indignant letter to the War Minister, dated April 25th:—

"You are in error when you imagine that I was aware of the modifications which the Government had thought advisable to propose to the English Minister. The Viscount de Oliveira informed me of the *conditions*, but no one made me acquainted with the proposed modifications. You will hardly believe with what little ceremony I have been treated in this affair; but your letter now places me in great perplexity. You told me that the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires had said, that his Government was about to intervene in our civil war, and would send a force of 12,000 men into Portugal, even if the British Government should make objections; but now you tell me that you are informed that the same Chargé d'Affaires has affirmed that his Government will not interfere, unless in accordance with those of England and France. Now, my good friend, I know very well, and it is from information which I cannot doubt, that, instead of the Chargé d'Affaires having changed, it is our Government, which, in a not very gracious manner, has *rejected* the Spanish offer, by simply replying that it had accepted the mediation of England. This being the case—and, I repeat, that I know it is so—it is impossible for me to come to any other conclusion than that secrecy was equally preserved toward yourself. . . . . See if you can throw a light on this affair."

Saldanha's advice respecting the appointment of Vinhaes to the Alemtejo had been followed; and he now writes to con-

gratulate the King on the dispatch with which the army south of the Tagus had been organized, and its condition improved. In the same letter, he makes known to his Majesty a very successful movement of Count do Casal, on the Douro, by which the necessity for retirement on Coimbra, and the danger to the Beira Province is averted.

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *April 23rd*, 1847.

"SIRE,

"Your Majesty is pleased to say that you would be very sorry that I should attribute to forgetfulness your Majesty not having written to me for some time; as such a supposition would be unjust. I am always ambitious of the honour of receiving the correspondence your Majesty is pleased to favour me with; but, Sire, who better than I can appreciate the grave affairs which have occupied your Majesty's time during the memorable and terrible crisis your Majesty has been traversing. At such a period, it would be unpardonable on my part, not to wish rather to relieve your Majesty of the weight of serious affairs, than to desire to add to your work.

"I am aware that the rapidity with which the excellent Division, which passed to the south of the Tagus, was organized and sent off, was entirely due to your Majesty. No news of its movements have reached me, because the guerillas have destroyed the two telegraph stations at Thomar and Poyares.

"The enemy's movement took place, just as I foretold to your Majesty in my last. All the available forces marched rapidly upon Amarante and Canavezes for the purpose of attacking Casal in superior numbers; but Casal, forewarned by me, and in consequence of the orders I sent him, marched from Villa Real, on the morning of the 20th, towards Regoa, passing the Douro that same day; and is now occupying the bank of the river, with his Head Quarters at Lamego. This movement spoilt the whole plan of the rebels, who really had intended to fight Casal, and force him to retire upon Chaves; Povoas would have immediately passed to Beira, where he would have increased his forces by the addition of the followers of the Usurper, who are awaiting his arrival; and he then hoped to cut off our communications, and force me to retire upon

Coimbra. The consequences of this forced movement would have been most unfortunate.

"Count do Casal must have placed under Vinhaes' orders double the force the latter had under him, when Casal was in the Alto Minho. At present, I know nothing more of the rebel movements. To-morrow I propose sending the Quarter-master-General to Lamego, to consult with Casal what we must do to meet the various plans which we may suppose the enemy will form. Our position is very difficult. Fifteen leagues of a mountainous country divide me from Count do Casal; but we will do everything that, humanly speaking, is possible, to hold Beira Alta until we receive reinforcements.

"Terrible days I have gone through, Sire, seeing my forces constantly diminishing, and feeling the conviction of their insufficiency for the work we have in hand. The only thing which supported me was the reflection, that even the Arch-Duke Charles, or the Duke of Wellington would have been surprised at the small force with which we have kept the rebels at bay, and have prevented the Miguelite portion of the brave and daring inhabitants of Beira Alta from taking up arms. If I had not the conviction that we have done all that we could, the censures, which are not wanting at the public haunts at Lisbon, from those who know nothing of the matter, or who are not competent to appreciate military operations, would give me great pain.

"With the most profound respect, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

A change of Ministry at Lisbon was now imminent; and the Queen desired Saldanha's presence. In reply to her Majesty's telegraphic message, he urged, that, having accepted the British Mediation, the sooner it commenced the more likely it was to produce good results. The despatch is dated April 27th:—

"YOUR MAJESTY,

"The news I have received renders it impossible for me to leave the Army; and I cannot, therefore, go to Lisbon to-day, as I had intended. I carry out your Majesty's orders,

by replying, as rapidly, as candidly, and as explicitly as I can, to his Majesty's letter of the 24th inst. :—

" SIRE,—I am aware that, on the 12th, the Spanish Minister presented a Note offering to your Majesty, on the part of his Government, 12,000 men, to oblige the rebel Junta to accept the conditions your Majesty might choose to impose upon them. I am also aware that, on the 19th, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply, thanked him, and announced that the English Mediation had been accepted. Whatever were the reasons which led the Ministry to reject that offer, it is my firm opinion that we ought to do everything that is possible to obtain its realization; and, in that case, form a warlike Cabinet. If the offer of the neighbouring nation cannot be accepted; or, if it is now too late, my opinion is (since, as my advice has been disregarded, things have arrived at their present state) that this very day the British Mediation should be accepted, and be immediately carried into execution."

On the 27th, Baron de Sarmento writes to the Marshal; " His Majesty has ordered me to desire the Baron da Ponte da Barca to come to Lisbon immediately; and to give over the command of the 2nd Division to the next in command, until your Excellency shall determine what officer is most capable of succeeding him."

This step was antecedent to the change of Ministry, respecting which the Queen had so urgently called for the presence of Saldanha at Lisbon. On the following day, (28th) a new Administration was formed; thus, somewhat tardily, acting upon the Marshal's frequent suggestions that men of decision and energy should replace those then in office. The Marshal himself was relieved of the Portfolios which he had hitherto nominally held. The Presidency remained vacant.

The Offices in the Government were filled as follows :—

Home . .	F. T. DE ALMEIDA PROENÇA.
Justice, . .	MANOEL DUARTE LEITÃO.
Finance . .	COUNT DO TOJAL.
Marine . .	COUNT DO TOJAL (*ad interim*).
War . .	BARON DA PONTE DA BARCA.
Foreign . .	I. L. BAYARD.

It is to be hoped that it was owing only to inadvertence that Saldanha's exoneration was so ill worded, that Tojal wrote a letter of exculpation to anticipate the annoyance he might otherwise feel. Tojal writes: "These changes took place suddenly; and I do not even know who drew up the various Decrees. It was not I; but I imagine it was D. Manoel de Portugal who was charged by her Majesty with this task. Consequently, your Excellency will excuse the brevity with which they are written."

Saldanha, however, who was aware how much any slight to a Minister—even although accidentally offered—may hereafter, in history, be used against him, declared his intention, at some future period, of demanding a full explanation. In reply to the Count's letter, he writes:

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *May 2nd*, 1847.

"MY DEAR COUNT,

"I received your letter of the 29th ult., and thank you very much for the information it contained. I repeatedly begged for a change of the Cabinet, because it had long been evident to me that its continuation in office would bring about fatal consequences. In 1833 and 1834, the Lisbon Arsenal furnished 200 guns per diem: and now, to arm 600 recruits and 37 battalions of Volunteers, the Government sent me 1000 guns and 1000 equipments in six months! It is unnecessary to go further into the urgent reasons I had for repeatedly begging and imploring that an active and energetic Ministry should be formed, capable of keeping pace with the *frenetico-revolucionario* activity of the rebel Junta. In the state to which we have been reduced, it was absolutely necessary to accept the Mediation upon the conditions laid down. It is 2 o'clock, and I am not yet aware if Colonel Wylde has reached Oporto. By my representation to the War Office, you will have seen the state in which we are for want of money. We are reduced to the hard necessity of having to steal, or die of hunger; and the alternative is far from pleasant. Try and assist us. The outcry raised by the Minho people against Count do Casal's Division was chiefly owing to the fact, that necessity forced him to draw from the inhabitants the food indispensable for the support of his soldiers.

"If you had not spoken of the wording of the Decree exonerating me from the Ministry, I should not have referred to such a subject at this moment. The said Decree is a document for history. Its wording, compared with the terms usually employed under similar circumstances, will furnish to posterity an evident proof of the royal disapprobation of my conduct, while occupying the post from which I am exonerated. My conscience assures me that I have served well; and, what is more, I feel convinced that I have merited her Majesty's approval. I cannot consent that such a document should be produced to my detriment in the eyes of posterity; and I am, therefore, resolved to make a declaration respecting it, as soon as I reach Lisbon; when I hope you will assist me to obtain that reparation which I consider my due.

"The release of the prisoners in the Limoeiro, is but another proof of what the scoundrels who have united with the Miguelites are capable. I have had a great deal of work in endeavouring to dissipate the impression caused by letters from Lisbon about the 'Conditions'; but I can assure you that the Army is now convinced of their convenience and necessity under present circumstances.

"Your true friend,

"SALDANHA."

No sooner was the new Administration formed, than the Minister of Justice wrote, on the following day, to Saldanha, informing him of his own nomination to office. He writes: "I insisted, however, previously, on being made acquainted as to the views of your Excellency; and I was informed, *by the only person* from whom I desired the information, that your views were in accordance with those of the Ministry; and that your Excellency had advised all that was done, and all that was doing. Thus, strengthened with the approbation and support of your Excellency, I put my shoulder to the work; and may God help us, in a short time, to terminate it."

Sr. Bayard also wrote, sending a copy of the Protocol which had been signed on the 28th (the day the Ministry was formed) at the Foreign Office, by himself, Sir H. Seymour, Col. Wylde

and Baron de Renduffe. It was therein declared, that the Queen had accepted the Mediation of England on the terms proposed by the British Government; and that, by the advice of her Ministers, her Majesty was about to issue a proclamation to her subjects; and was ready to grant an ample and most generous amnesty to the rebels, immediately on their laying down their arms. Bayard, on this occasion, submitted the proposed proclamation and amnesty to Sir H. Seymour and to Col. Wylde; and asked them if they did not consider that both the letter and the spirit of the conditions proposed by Lord Palmerston would be carried out by such measures. In reply, they both cordially assented.

On the 12th of April, when the Marshal learned that there was a prospect of the Articles of the Quadruple Treaty being carried out, he wrote to his wife: "May the Almighty be praised. It was not for the love of glory, nor of power, nor of riches, that I took the steps I did. It was solely with the desire of delivering the Queen from the hands of the Anarchists, and of bettering the lot of this so docile but unfortunate people. I have done my duty; and I am really happy, and submissive to the determinations of the Almighty. . . . . I am glad you have been to confession. You will feel quite happy."

On the 22nd, the Marshal writes, in reply to some observations of the Duchess concerning intrigues against him in Lisbon: "Such intrigues do not trouble me. I do not labour to earn the applause of men. I work to serve well my Queen and my country, according to my own conscience; and, whatever may be the ingratitude I meet with, or the bad faith employed by my enemies to accuse me, I despise it completely. There is much self love in desiring to be esteemed by everybody—that everything should tend to our own glory. St. Francisco de Sales is the best consoler to those who are obliged to live in the great world. I really despise the intrigues against me, to such a degree, that it is out of their power to cause me the least uneasiness."

Omitting daily notes to his wife, each containing some kind expressions of affection, or some observations respecting passing events, we reach that period when Intervention was finally decided upon by the parties to the Quadruple Treaty. It had

become a necessity, although a stern one, and drew from the Marshal the following regret: "It is a great misfortune for an honourable man to belong to a small nation. Marshal Lannes said, that if he belonged to a small nation he would blow his brains out. God preserve me from such fury: but it is truly a sad thing."

On the change of Ministry, the Marshal wrote to his wife, (April 30th): "The Baron da Ponte da Barca, who goes to the War Office, is one of my best and most sincere friends; and I am delighted with his nomination. I hope in the Lord, that the war will soon be at an end. The greatest fools and cowards are always those who make the most noise. Do you recollect how they behaved to the Emperor, when the concessions were made at Evora Monte? Our self love and pride would have been better satisfied, if we could have brought the war to a close without foreign intervention. I opposed it as long as possible; because, if, instead of a lifeless Ministry, we had had an active, warlike, and even violent one to oppose the frenzied revolutionary activity of the rebel Junta, we should have triumphed in spite of the infamous league between Miguelites and Republicans. But now that the Allied Powers have consented to interfere, and to put an end to the horrible scourge of civil war, I do not know why some Chartists are looking as vexed, as if the parties of the League had triumphed! What I doubt is, whether Povoas and the Miguelites will readily yield. We shall see. God bless us, and give us peace and rest."

The doubt expressed at the conclusion of his letter led the Marshal to imagine the possibility of some great effort being made by the rebels before the foreign armed intervention could take place. In fact, we may wonder that Das Antas and Povoas did not quit Oporto, and bravely attack Saldanha and his inferior forces. Success would have enabled them to march on Lisbon, where they might have hoped for the chance of a rising in their favour;* in which case the possession of the two chief cities of the kingdom would not only have added strength to their cause, but have given it more the appearance of being a national one.

* We shall shortly learn the attempts made at Lisbon, on the 29th, in favour of the rebel party.

Under such circumstances, Saldanha no longer insisted on resigning his command; and, with his accustomed patriotism and self-abnegation, he addressed the following letter to the King:—

"OLIVEIRA DE AZEMEIS, *April 30th*, 1847.

"SIRE,

"Yesterday I had the honour of receiving your Majesty's letter of the 27th; and I kiss your Majesty's hand for the condescension with which you were pleased to tell me who were the new Ministers. I beg leave to assure your Majesty that, for many weeks, I have not had a moment of such intense satisfaction, as I felt when perusing the list of the new Administration. The nomination of Baron da Ponte da Barca, as Minister of War, is, to say the least, as satisfactory and as worthy of confidence as any one of the others.

"On more than one occasion I have asked your Majesty's permission to hand over the command to the officer immediately beneath me, the moment the Mediation was effected; but it shall not be said that, at the close of my life, self-love or caprice was stronger than duty. Letters lately received by the Army, representing the acceptation of the Articles proposed by the British Government as degrading, and as the triumph of the monstrous League, produced their effect. Since the reception of your Majesty's letter, I have declared myself as an Apostle in favour of the Mediation, even as it was offered and accepted. All the Chiefs are now persuaded that it was a necessity; and the irritation visible in the subalterns (which is shared, even, by the soldiers), will soon disappear. If I had not been here, great disorders might have arisen; and it was for this reason, even more than from the possibility of an attack from the enemy, that I resolved not to go to Lisbon.

"Sire, we are now at the 30th; and I am not aware that money has left Lisbon to pay the soldiers. The contractors, if they are not paid, will, one of these days, disappear. My own horses have not had any rations for the last three days. Pray help us in such a hard extremity.

"With the most profound respect, etc.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

On the 3rd of May, Mr. Bulwer informs Lord Palmerston that, "should affairs in Portugal not be settled by Sir Hamilton Seymour, there will be an armed Spanish Intervention." In fact, the Count de Thomar, in the name of his Government, had demanded the immediate and prompt entry of a Spanish force into Portugal; which, as he said, "will be no more than an equivalent for that which H. M. F. Majesty has afforded H. C. Majesty, on occasions of equal distress and danger."

But these steps were now, apparently, rendered unnecessary, by the terms of Mediation recently agreed upon between the Government of the Queen and Sir H. Seymour. When these terms became known at Lisbon, the supporters of the Junta were so exasperated, that they again attempted to get up a revolutionary disturbance. Sir H. Seymour informed Lord Palmerston, that, at half past five o'clock on the evening of the 29th, (April), these disturbances commenced. A party of some thirty individuals had fallen upon the guard; some of whom, and among them the sergeant, had been gained over; and had proceeded to liberate the prisoners. "They then made a rush on the castle. The guard of this place, however, had received sufficient notice to be able to secure the gates, and opened a fire through the loop-holes upon the convicts, which soon put them to flight. . . . . What I have since heard, induces me to believe that the disturbance was an attempt to carry into execution the plan which had been made for raising the town on the 11th ultimo."

In a later despatch, Sir Hamilton writes: "The affair of the 29th was altogether a much more serious one than was at first imagined; and its results might have been very different, if, from want of proper combination, the plan of execution had not, in great measure, failed. The number of prisoners who were let out was 1014, among whom were all the worst malefactors of the kingdom: one of them was a man who had committed twenty-two murders. Of these, some 500 have effected their escape; and the result was perceptible the same night, when several robberies took place in the neighbourhood of the city. Upon hearing that disturbances had broken out, the King, attended

by an Aide-de-Camp, galloped at once to the scene of confusion; and was, in his way thither, only a few yards distant from one of these gangs of desperadoes."

The author, who had recently arrived from England, was greatly amused at the simple means employed by the "experts" for the detection and re-capture of the run-a-ways. They were simply those with which Nature had provided them—their noses. All who had not been wary enough to divest themselves of that odour peculiar to the inhabitants of a Lisbon prison, were speedily seized and sent off for identification. The number of those who eventually escaped is said to have been very small.

Before Col. Wylde should proceed to Oporto, to make known the terms offered by the Queen's Government to the rebel Junta, it was thought expedient that he should endeavour to induce the generals in command of the insurgent forces at Setubal, to agree to a suspension of hostilities, until they received further instructions from the Junta at Oporto.

Accordingly, as Colonel Wylde informs us, he arrived at Setubal early on the morning of the 30th, and immediately had an interview with the Viscount de Sá and the Count de Mello. They both, the Colonel says, on being informed of the object of his visit, objected to the word "Amnesty" being made use of; but they both stated that they had no objection to an armistice; and the Viscount said, he would send an answer in writing, to that effect, in the course of an hour.

"During the time I was with the two Generals," continues Colonel Wylde, "I observed that there was loud conversation going on in the ante-room; and, on my coming out, I found about forty officers there, who appeared much excited; and, as I passed, they made use of expressions indicating their determination not to listen to any terms of accommodation."

Probably these gentlemen were not yet aware of the ill-success of the revolutionary attempt at Lisbon on the previous evening.

"At seven in the evening, I received an answer containing a refusal to agree to an armistice. I have reason to believe, that this determination was come to in consequence of the insubor-

dination of his officers, who openly threatened their Commander with violence, if not led to attack the Queen's troops. . . . . During the night of the 30th, I heard a great deal of noise and excitement amongst the troops in the town; and, at six the next morning, I was informed that they were marching out to attack the Queen's forces. . . . . The result of the action which took place was a complete defeat of the insurgents, who returned to the town in the utmost confusion; and I shortly afterwards received a verbal message from the Viscount, to the effect that he would consent to a suspension of hostilities."

As the Viscount de Sá made rather light of his defeat, declaring that he had *retired* when the object of his *sortie* was accomplished, we give Colonel Wylde's account of what he himself observed. "The insurgent force consisted of about 4000 infantry and 230 cavalry. Shortly after day-break, I saw them marching up the hills, which nearly surround the town, in three columns; and, about 7 o'clock, the attack commenced with great spirit. The principal object of attack, and against which the centre column was directed, appeared to be a redoubt which the Count Vinhaes had been throwing up during the nights of the 28th and 29th instant; and on which he intended mounting some battering artillery against Fort St. Philip.

"The Count's outposts, and the picket which occupied the unfinished redoubt, were quickly dislodged, and obliged to retire upon the main body; and a severe struggle now took place on the crest of the heights, which was sustained with considerable obstinacy by both parties for about an hour and a half: but one of the insurgent battalions being charged and broken by a squadron of Vinhaes' cavalry, the disorder spread very quickly to the rest; and they were driven back into the town in the greatest confusion."

Colonel Wylde estimated the loss of the insurgents at about 220 killed and wounded, and 55 prisoners; but, as he returned to Lisbon on the same day of the engagement, his estimate was, probably, not so accurate as that of Sir H. Seymour, some time afterwards, who states:

"The loss of the insurgent army, in the affair of the 1st May,

was more considerable than was at first believed. Count Tojal has just informed me that he has ascertained their number of killed and wounded to amount to above 500. Of those killed on the insurgent side, above 300 have been buried by order of General Vinhaes.

"Many of the wounded insurgents, in company of the wounded of the Queen's forces, have been removed to the hospital at Lisbon; where the same care is bestowed upon all who are in want of medical relief, without reference to the Cause in which their wounds have been received.

"On the 3rd instant, the hospital was visited by the Queen and King, who spoke to many of the wounded, and gave fresh and especial orders that every attention should be paid to all alike."

On the evening of the 5th of May, Col. Wylde, in company with the Marquis de España (Colonel Buenaga) arrived at Oporto in H. M. S. *Gladiator*.

Col. Wylde writes to Lord Palmerston: "Our arrival, I am informed, has caused a great deal of excitement amongst the lower orders, who are determined that no terms shall be listened to; and it was even thought, that some outbreak for the purpose of overawing the Junta, whom they suspect of wishing to treat, might take place to-night."

Two Delegates were immediately deputed by the Junta to meet the British and Spanish Commissioners; and three conferences took place; but, in consequence of the alterations of terms demanded by the Delegates, no agreement could be come to; and Colonel Wylde declared that he considered his mission at an end. He reported to Lord Palmerston, that he had "ascertained beyond a doubt, that the Junta is coerced by two or three of the more violent chiefs of the party, and by the people in arms under their influence."

Colonel Wylde, while regretting the failure of his mission, declared himself consoled by the conviction that; "The Junta with whom I had to treat were not masters of their own position: they have conjured up a storm which they are no longer able to control; and are overawed by a pressure from without, which comes from a multitude of people who are either now

actually employed by them, or have promises of being so; or of promotion, if their cause succeeds."

Thus were verified Saldanha's predictions, that the Mediation could have but one result; that of lowering the dignity of the Crown, without at all advancing the reconciliation of parties.

As soon as information reached London of the rejection, by the Junta, of the terms offered, a conference took place, on the 21st of May, at the Foreign Office, when the conduct of the Junta was severely censured; and it was decided, that an immediate armed Intervention should take place in Portugal, in order to compel the parties of the double rebellion to submit to the Queen's authority. The following were the concluding words of the Protocol, then and there signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the four Powers concerned.

"The Plenipotentiaries of the four Powers undertake that orders, in conformity with the engagements of this protocol, shall be sent forthwith to the naval officers of the respective Governments on the coast of Portugal, and to the general officers commanding the Spanish troops on the frontiers of Spain.

"(*Signed*) "XAVIER DE ISTURITZ.
"JARNAC.
"PALMERSTON.
"TORRE DE MONCORVO."

Das Antas, who had been so peremptory in declining the terms offered to the Junta, (although far from anxious to lead his troops to attack Saldanha's less numerous force), on hearing of the resolutions taken in London, determined rather to surrender to the Queen's foreign Allies than to her Lieutenant and to his countrymen. Having embarked about 3000 of his men in 8 vessels, he gave himself up with them to the British Squadron in the Douro, commanded by Captain Sir Thomas Maitland. Thence, they immediately set sail for the Tagus, where they arrived on the 2nd of June.

The following curious letter was received by the Marshal while at his Head Quarters.

"POMBAL, *May 24th*, 1847.

"SENHOR DUQUE,

"I cannot describe to your Excellency the shock I

had during this last night! I dreamt that the Marshal Duke had died from the effects of poison! Horrible! Horrible!

"Considering the state of immorality in which the country is, be on your guard. There is no respect for religion—for the Sovereign—for your Excellency—for the great, the virtuous, or the good!!! I offer myself to taste all the Marshal's food before he eats it. If I am poisoned, I save the Marshal from death.

"I desire your health and safety. Do not disregard the caution of, your, etc.,

"JOSÉ D'AQUINO MARINHO FALCÃO."

On the 3rd of June, the Marshal had advanced his forces to Grijò; and thence, on the 15th, he writes to his wife, who was somewhat unwell, strongly recommending her to observe a strict diet, and to guard against a poison of another description. "I am persuaded," says he, "that many gastric and other fevers are caused in Portugal by that terrible fowl broth which is put into the stomach as soon as a person is slightly unwell."

On the 18th, he indignantly writes: "The Septembrists, surrounded by the Miguelite Generals, Povoas, Guedes, Bernardino, Rebocho and others, say that the heart and the sword of D. Pedro will teach them to defend the city against the Absolutists! Upon my honour, we lose all patience with such scoundrels. We who defend the Charter and the Queen (D. Pedro's daughter) are the Absolutists!—the Miguelite Generals and Miguelite soldiers, and the Septembrists are the Liberals; the defenders of the representative Government!"

Passing events are well described in the following letter addressed to the King.

"GRIJÒ, *June 7th*, 1847.

"SIRE,

"As it is impossible for me to-day to have the honour of forwarding to your Majesty the correspondence which has passed between H. B. M.'s Consul and myself, since I have taken up my Head Quarters at this village, I will give your

Majesty a brief account of every essential point of it. The Consul, announcing that the Junta submitted to the Armistice *imposed by the Allied Governments*, also made known to me that José Passos insisted on my return to the positions which I occupied in Oliveira de Azemeis. I replied, that I was resolved not to yield to the whim of Senhor Passos (José); but that I would promise not to pass Carvalhos before the 10th inst., unless the lives of H. M. F. Majesty's subjects, or those of her Allies, were in danger.

"The Consul having given me notice that some of the Members of the Junta had manifested to him their desire to submit; and having asked me to state whether they would be included in the Amnesty, and what would be the treatment the others would experience, I answered that I had not received instructions upon this head.

" Mr. Russel, the bearer of these despatches from the Consul, told me verbally to-day that the Junta was seeking any excuse to open the gates of the city to the Queen's troops; such, for instance, as the entrance into the Ministry of a popular man, or some similar event. I replied, that the only course which could be admitted was a complete submission to her Majesty.

" At this moment, another despatch, the fifth to-day from the Consul, has arrived, in which he tells me that Seabra and Avila sent word to him that they had no intention of resisting the Allied forces; and, in consequence, he begged that the Spanish troops might be requested to abstain from hostilities. At the same time, he informs me that the garrison of Valença, reinforced by Spanish troops, had completely routed the rebels who were blockading it; and that the Consul of H. M. C. Majesty, at his request, was going to address the Spanish Generals for the purpose that the Junta desired. I have this moment replied, that General Concha would not consent to suspend operations until he was informed of the submission of the Junta, and that its troops had laid down their arms: and that, therefore, any suggestions of the Spanish Consul would be of no avail.

"I trust your Majesty will excuse the informality of this

letter, owing to the haste in which it is written: and humbly kissing your Majesty's hand, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

On the 9th of June, a proclamation was issued by the Queen, calling on her subjects to yield obedience to the laws; and, on the same day, was published the following Amnesty signed by the Queen and her Ministers. These documents, already referred to, had been submitted to Sir H. Seymour and Colonel Wylde by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the Conference which took place on the 28th of April, and had obtained their approval.

"AMNESTY.

"ARTICLE I.—A complete and general Amnesty is hereby conceded for all political offences committed since the 6th day of October, 1846, which shall remain in perpetual oblivion and silence.

"§ 1st.—Any proceedings which may have been instituted for such offences are hereby declared null and without effect, in whatever stage they may be at this time.

"§ 2nd.—All persons who are in prison by order of any authority, whether an action has or has not been brought against them, shall be immediately placed at liberty.

"§ 3rd.—All those who, in consequence of political events, or of extraordinary measures taken by the Government, may have been compelled to leave the kingdom, shall be immediately restored to liberty, and allowed to return; for which purpose the Government shall furnish the means.

"ARTICLE II.—All those who, since the 6th of October above mentioned, have been deprived of their military commissions legally held by them; or of any office or employment, which they could not lose under the constitutional Charter and existing laws without a judicial sentence, shall have such commissions, offices, or employments immediately restored to them.

"§ 1st.—In the same manner, all honours, titles, and decorations, shall be restored to all those, who, since the said 6th day of October, have been deprived of such titles, or other honorary distinctions.

"The Ministers and Secretaries of State of all the Departments will carry out these instructions, and cause the necessary despatches to be executed.

"RAINHA.
"FRANCISCO TAVARES D'ALMEIDA PROENÇA.
"CONDE DO TOJAL.
"MANUEL DUARTE LEITÃO.
"ILDEFONSO LEOPOLDO BAYARD."

Das Antas having surrendered, his example was speedily followed by Sá, Mello, Taipa, José Estevão, and 140 officers, who entered the Tagus as prisoners on the 16th of June. The bands of the former, writes the War Minister to Saldanha, "while on board, struck up and complimented the waters of the Tagus with the hymn, *Maria da Fonte*.* They cannot have this amusement in the Tower, because, I am told, their instruments have been taken from them." Of the latter mentioned rebels, he writes that Admiral Parker was not satisfied with the manner in which they had kept their word; and that their chiefs had written most impertinent letters to the Admiral. He adds: "They continue hopeful and threatening. Their language with regard to the Government breathes nothing but rage and revenge. Their desires and hopes rest upon the departure of our Allies."

The Protocol gave satisfaction to neither party. It afforded a pretence for future rebellions: it lowered the dignity of the Sovereign in the eyes of the people: and the very wording of it left its meaning ambiguous.

The following is a specimen of the language written and printed, at this time, by the rebel party: "Accursed be the Sovereign, and her race, who calls for allies to crush her subjects. Bitter be her life; ignominious her death. The injury she does to our offspring, may she see done to her own. The lances which pierce us, the horses which crush us, may they also pierce and crush her descendants."

The remaining members of the Junta had attempted to

* The name by which this revolutionary party was distinguished.

prolong negotiations. But Col. Wylde had returned to the Douro: General Concha was encamped outside the city. The following letter from Saldanha to the King gives an account of what was taking place.

"RICHOUZA, 28*th of June*, 1847.

"SIRE,

"Colonel Wylde arrived here the day before yesterday; having landed at Villa Nova in consequence of the ex-Marquis de Loulé having gone on board to inform him, on the part of the Junta, that they wished to consult with him and with General Concha, upon the way in which they were to make their surrender, and to lay down their arms. The Colonel requested me to fix a time and place for the conference, at which he desired my presence. It was decided that it should be at Gramido, at 12 o'clock; and, accordingly, at that spot, General Concha, Colonels Wylde and Buenaga, the French Consul, the ex-Marquis de Loulé, and myself, met. The ex-Marquis made some difficulty about negotiating in my presence; to which General Concha and Colonel Wylde replied, that, unless I was present, they could not enter upon business. But I, who never stand upon such points, when the interest of my country is concerned, and still less when the object is to avoid the shedding of blood, requested to be allowed to retire for a time, as I had some writing to attend to. I accordingly retired. After a long interval, General Concha and Colonel Wylde came to tell me that, in addition to treating upon the manner of carrying out the surrendering and disarming of the troops, the Representative of the Junta required:—1st, that all the Chartist battalions should be disarmed; 2nd, that the Miguelite officers should be included in the 3rd Section of the Army; 3rd, that the ex-Count das Antas and the ex-Viscount de Sá da Bandeira should be included in the Amnesty. I went myself and spoke to the ex-Marquis de Loulé, and induced him to give up the 1st and 2nd conditions; but, with regard to the 3rd, he declared that he could not take upon himself to decide without consulting the Junta. Twelve o'clock at night was fixed as the limit of time for receiving the answer; and the ex-Marquis was informed that we should not suspend our preparations for the assault.

Orders were immediately given for the disembarkation, at Mattosinhos, of all the artillery that could be spared from the frigate *America*, and from our Steamers.

"During the night, Colonel Wylde received the despatch of which I have the honour to forward a copy, together with his answer. The document is signed by Avila and Justino Pinto Bastos. Reports from the city affirm that Passos (José) gave in his resignation, as Member of the Junta, as soon as he saw that the idea of resistance was abandoned; but I cannot vouch for their truth. During the conference, a sharp fire of artillery and musketry was heard. The rebels had established their pickets in a house at less than a musket-shot distance from the Castle of Gaia, which house I required to hold to make my line of pickets shorter. I had ordered Brigadier Ferreira to write to the officer in command to request him to order his pickets to retire; and, if he refused, to oblige him to do so. The officer merely replied by requiring that the Brigadier should withdraw his brigade to a greater distance. The house was in consequence attacked, and carried without loss on our side. The enemy imagined it would be as easy to retake the house, as it had been for us to carry it; and, therefore, at three in the afternoon, commenced a heavy fire of artillery, followed up by repeated attacks upon our pickets; but was each time repelled with considerable loss. We had four killed, amongst whom was a most promising youth, Sergeant of the 8th regiment, and eight wounded. The rebels had two officers killed; but their entire loss in killed and wounded is calculated as exceeding sixty men. They charged with little vigour, and without seeking any covering. When combined attacks are made simultaneously upon the front and flank, and made with the decision true valour inspires, the loss is always much less than might be expected. Since last evening we have had no more firing.

"Among the ex-Marquis de Loulé's propositions, there was one somewhat singular. He required that Viscount de Beire should be named Civil Governor, and Viscount de Alcobaça, Military Governor, of Oporto. I rejected all idea of such a thing with indignation; although Colonel Wylde approved of it, and General Concha did not oppose it.

"Count do Casal has occupied my right since yesterday.

"I have, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

The Convention of Gramido was signed on the 29th of June. Saldanha took no part in it; and refused to sign it. It is, moreover, remarkable that this Document was "never officially communicated to the Government, nor ratified by the Allied Governments;" and that the Ministers of England, France, and Spain sent in a protest addressed to Sr. Bayard, complaining of its irregularity, and of the absence of the signatures of Representatives, both of the French Government and of that of H. M. F. Majesty. To this remonstrance, the Minister for Foreign Affairs gave his approval. We will only add, that even the copies of the Convention which were circulated differed in several particulars; and that the one afterwards made use of by the Viscount de Sá was that printed at Oporto by the Junta.

On the 2nd, the Marshal issued the following address to his soldiers.

"COMRADES. Her Majesty, in her magnanimity, has granted a most ample Amnesty; and no one will be allowed to raise the veil which has been drawn over the past.

"The Army, which has constantly given proofs of its obedience and devotion to the Queen's person, will shew, by its conduct towards all Portuguese, whatever may have been their political opinions, that it knows how to respect its Sovereign's will; and that it will make every effort to bring about a sincere union of all Portuguese. Should, however, any individual, contrary to my expectations, be found wanting in this sacred duty, punishment will follow close upon the offence.

"Head Quarters at Richouza, July 2nd, 1847.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

Saldanha entered Oporto on the 7th of July, at 10 o'clock in the morning. General Concha rode by his side. The cavalry, artillery, and infantry, followed in order. As they marched through the Streets of S. João, Flores, Feira, Porta de Carros,

Hortas, and Almada, the houses were ornamented with damask hangings; whilst, from the windows, were thrown innumerable bouquets in honour of the General, and of the happy day in which the people had become free from their tyrants. Arriving at the Church of N. S. da Lapa,* the President of a deputation of the municipality addressed the Marshal, congratulating him, and the citizens of Oporto, on their happy deliverance. After Saldanha had replied, the two Generals, with their respective Staffs, entered the sacred building, where Saldanha gave grateful thanks to the Almighty for the happy termination of this cruel war. After reviewing the troops, he took up his residence at the house of the Conde de Terena, where he received the Bishop of the Diocese and all the authorities.

After a short stay at Oporto, the Marshal visited the province to the north of that city. On the 14th, he was at Guimarães; and, on the 16th, at Braga.

Shortly before this, in consequence of some extraordinary falsehoods and insulting expressions said to have been uttered in the British House of Commons, Saldanha wrote to Colonel Wylde. A Member of Parliament was reported to have said, in reference to the origin of the rebellion: "The Queen of Portugal having violated her oath, and trampled on the constitutional rights of her subjects, they rose in arms and asserted their freedom." Then, with respect to the prisoners of Torres Vedras, he added: "They surrendered in an honourable capitulation, etc. But what was the conduct of Saldanha and his associates? They positively robbed these unfortunate persons of their property, and then sent them in a convict ship to a penal settlement." Not satisfied with these assertions, the same Member declared that the Queen's Almoner, Padre Marcos, "had excited the disgust of the sincere Roman Catholics in consequence of his drunken habits, etc.;" and that "he was the father of a very numerous family of sons and daughters." Having exhausted his *facts*, he had recourse to reports; and

* In this Church, in a stone sarcophagus, lies the heart of D. Pedro who gave to Portugal the Constitutional Charter of 1826.

stated that, "the Minister of the Exterior had been accused of assassination."*

Colonel Wylde wrote (July 16th) in reply, expressing his belief that the speech had "been incorrectly reported;" and added: "I really think that the comments made upon the subject by individual Members of Parliament, who you must be aware are in the habit of allowing themselves such unlimited liberty of speech, are hardly worth your notice—particularly as you are abused in such good company: as M. Bayard, for instance, who is accused of all sorts of crimes—murder, I believe, being one—although we all know that a more humane, amiable, honest and upright man does not exist; and that he had no more to do with the change of Ministers in October last, than the person who makes the charge against him. In fact, I never remember to have read a Debate in which the speakers in general appeared to be so ill-informed on the subject they were talking about, as in the late discussion upon Portuguese Affairs."

The Marshal, on the 20th, was at Bertiandos; and on the 22nd, at Vianna, which he describes, in a letter to his wife, as "the prettiest town in Portugal." Thence he proceeded to Lisbon, where he was received with great demonstrations of respect and rejoicing.

His anticipations respecting the difficulties which would arise from the famous "Protocol" were soon verified. On the 5th of August, prompted by the leaders of the late rebel party, the Envoys of England, France, and Spain addressed a Note to Sr. Bayard, demanding a change of Ministers. The Queen at once consulted Saldanha. But great difficulty arose in carrying out the 4th Article of the Protocol, which declared excluded from Office all persons "belonging to the party of the Cabrals." Sir Hamilton Seymour was on the alert; and writes to the Marshal on the 19th: "Everything that occurs convinces me

* Such report never reached us in Portugal, except through this channel. Poor Sr. Bayard was eventually the victim of an assassination, although not the perpetrator of one. Having bequeathed a legacy to his valet, he, imprudently, made him acquainted with his kind intention, and was shortly afterwards murdered by that servant, on the 25th of January, 1856, in his 71st year.

more and more that the Cabrals are in the Spanish service. What was ever so extraordinary as the two Grand Crosses conferred upon Silva and Rebello Cabral!!! and a third, *at the same time*, upon poor Bayard! I am just going to Cintra, there to pass two or three days *au sein de ma famille*."

The "Press" of all Parties teemed with abuse of everything and everybody, in a manner the Press of no other country can rival. Every kind of ministerial combination was thought of in order to meet the scrupulous exigencies of Sir Hamilton. The Marshal, who worked hard, but on condition that he himself should not be called to office, hurried after Seymour to Cintra with the following letter, from the King, in his pocket, and not a little elated at the expression of the royal opinion of the "infamous and so vaguely worded Protocol."

"MY DEAR DUKE, "LISBON, *August 20th*, 1847.

"I beg you to write me a few words to-morrow before you go to Cintra, in order that I may know whether Rodrigo will agree or not to accompany you. You know as well as I do the various and powerful considerations which should be laid before Seymour; therefore I do not repeat here that which we have agreed upon. I confess that I am little satisfied with the newly projected combination, and should be glad if the first one could still be possible. It is to be hoped that we may get Seymour to give his opinion frankly and without dissembling (rebuço). The present ministerial crisis should, certainly, not be further prolonged; for it should not appear that *we ourselves* are desirous of delaying the going out of the Ministers now in office, and of shuffling (tergiversar) the carrying out of the infamous (nefando) and so vaguely worded Protocol.

"FERNANDO."

A Ministry was formed, on the 22nd, as follows:—

Home . .	ANTONIO DE AZEVEDO MELLO E CARVALHO.
Justice . .	F. A. F. DA SILVA FERRÃO.
Finance . .	MARINO MIGUEL FRANZINI.
War . .	BARON DE ALMOFALLA.
Marine . .	J. DE FONTES PEREIRA DE MELLO.
Foreign . .	BARON DA SENHORA DA LUZ.

No President was appointed.

Saldanha, having now seen order restored throughout the country, and having succeeded in forming a Ministry approved of by Seymour, and by the Envoys from France and Spain—Varennes and Ayllon—determined on resuming diplomatic duties. On the 31st, at his request, a royal Decree exonerated him from the appointment of Chief of the King's Staff. On the 3rd of September, the Queen signed his nomination as Minister to the Court of Madrid. With some apparent fear lest the Marshal should feel inclined to take his departure with "French leave," he was officially informed by the Baron da Luz, that he was on no account to leave Portugal without further orders from her Majesty.

The Count de Thomar, doubtless to the dismay of Sir Hamilton, had entered the Tagus, from Cadiz, on the evening of the 27th. The sensation caused by his arrival, and the hopes it created amongst his party, led the *Times* correspondent to declare his opinion that the Cabrals would be in office before the following January. But the late rebel party was no less hopeful and active; and, as its leaders had not recently received "two grand Crosses from Spain" the British Envoy, in his eagerness to rescue Portugal from Spanish influence, became their Ally, if not their dupe. On the 24th (September), we hear of Napier, then commanding a British ship in the Tagus, giving a dinner on board to Loulé, Das Antas, Sá, Fayal, (Palmella's son), Vellez Caldeira and Julio Sanches! On the following day, Sá, Das Antas, and six others addressed a Note to Seymour, Varennes, and Ayllon, respecting the London Protocol; and, on the 26th, we find the British Minister himself receiving at his table Loulé and others implicated in the late rebellion!

At this time, some proposals were made to Saldanha to accept the Mission to Rio de Janeiro: but his friends appealed to his patriotism not to separate himself so far from his country, where the influence of his counsels, if not of his sword, might, ere long, be again wanted. Indeed, there were continued reports of ministerial crises, and not without foundation.

The Ministry of the 22nd of August was unequal to the situation. The Queen again felt compelled to consult Saldanha;

who, on the morning of the 18th of December, replied to her Majesty, by letter, in the following terms.

". . . . If, at any cost, we must maintain the dignity of the Crown and our national independence, yet, at the same time, we must not lose sight of the necessity for keeping up friendly relations with the English Government. Your Majesty knows the opinion they form of me at the Court of St. James'; and this is another strong reason for urging your Majesty to appoint some one else to form a Ministry."

The Marshal recommended the Queen to call to her assistance either the Duke da Terceira or the Marquis de Fronteira; urging that Terceira would be more favourably considered by Lord Palmerston than himself. If the Foreign Secretary really objected to the presence of Saldanha at the head of the Government, his objection must have arisen from a feeling which reflected honour on the Marshal. For, as no one better than Lord Palmerston acknowledged and appreciated his honest and independent character, he probably considered Saldanha less pliable than others whom he would wish to see in power. The friendly intercourse between these Statesmen, which commenced in 1839, was continued, without interruption, until Lord Palmerston's death.

The solicitations of the Queen, added to the urgency of the occasion, prevailed over Saldanha's reluctance to accept office: for continual had been of late the warnings received by the Government of Septembrist revolutionary projects. On the afternoon of the 18th, Saldanha undertook the formation of a Ministry, which, ere night, was submitted to the Queen and approved of. It was composed as follows:

President. War (ad interim) and Foreign	DUKE DE SALDANHA.
Home	BERNARDO GORJÃO HENRIQUES.
Justice	JOAQUIM JOSÉ DE QUEIROZ.
Finance	JOAQUIM JOSÉ FALCÃO.
Marine and Colonies	AGOSTINHO ALBANO DA SILVEIRA PINTO.

The above were all new men except Falcão, who had served in a Ministry with Costa Cabral from 1842 to 1845.

One of the first acts of the Home Minister was to reinstate

the two Cabrals in their posts as Councillors of State, of which they had been so illegally deprived by the Palmella Ministry. To this act of Justice, Saldanha added a prudent one, which was to offer the Legation at Paris to the Count de Thomar.

We insert the following extract from a letter to Saldanha written on the formation of the new Ministry. It is dated, Oporto, December 28th, and is from the pen of the ex-Minister, Manoel de Castro Pereira, who, a member of the Septembrist Administration in 1837, had long since retired from public life. It affords a further striking instance of the opinion amongst all parties, that if Saldanha were left unfettered, and were guided only by "the impulses of his noble and generous heart," Portugal might "yet be happy."

"Your Excellency is now charged with the supreme direction of public affairs. For the welfare of the country, of the Queen, and of the Dynasty, do not be guided by those who surround you. Be guided only by the impulses of your noble and generous heart—by your own experience and knowledge. Be convinced of your superiority in every respect. Arrange affairs according to your noble inspirations. Act in this sense with resolution and vigour; and Portugal may yet be happy, and your name will be respected and immortalized as it deserves."

CHAPTER VIII.

1848.

Opening of Parliament—Complaints of Seymour respecting the Elections—Saldanha resigns the War Office—His letter to the Ministers—Satisfaction given—His report to the Chamber as Minister for Foreign Affairs—Interesting letter from the Queen—Saldanha's speeches—Breach between Saldanha and Seymour—Its causes—Correspondence thereon—Occurrence at Count d'Alte's—Note from Saldanha to Home Minister—He resigns—Saldanha succeeds him—Other changes—Friendly note from Seymour—Marriage of Saldanha's daughter—He is promised the Order of the Golden Fleece—Session closed—Saldanha named Minister at Paris—Efforts of the Clubs to overturn his Administration—Saldanha appointed Mordomo Mór—Thomar returns to Madrid—The Miguelites and Septembrists again in activity—Saldanha asserts that he can preserve order—Argument with the Queen, who yields—Rigorous measures urged—Saldanha follows a contrary policy—Public Lunatic Asylum—Saldanha's reforms therein—Gratitude of the inmates.

A PORTUGUESE Advocate, for some time a Member of the Chamber of Deputies, not long ago expressed his opinion to the author, that, if the laws of his country could be restored to the state in which they were at the death of the Marquis de Pombal, greater would be the prosperity of Portugal, and greater the contentment of the people. The legislation of the country, since 1820, has too often been the result of the schemes of visionary politicians; and furnishes a remarkable instance of the truth of Burke's observation with regard to theories of government: that the propensity to resort to them is one sure symptom of an ill-conducted State. In Portugal, much zeal has been shown for reforms; but, unfortunately, the changes thus made, so far from being of practical utility, have tended to render the laws more confused and impracticable. As the author is not writing the "Curiosities of Legislation," he makes but

little reference to the labours of the Chambers, even although Saldanha himself may be at the head of the Government.

The opening of the first Parliament after the conclusion of the Civil War was on the 2nd of January. On the day following, Saldanha, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, officially acquainted the Ministers of England, France, and Spain, that the Cortes were assembled, and that the stipulations of the Protocol of the 21st of May, 1847, were thus completely carried out. He further informs the Ministers, that he had been desired by his Sovereign to request them to make known to their respective Governments how much her Majesty was indebted to her Allies for the assistance they had rendered in restoring peace to the country.

The Ministers from France and Spain acknowledged the receipt of this communication, and expressed their satisfaction that the articles of the Protocol had been carried out: the British Minister, more cautious, or more captious, observed, that they were carried out "according to the opinion of the Government of H. M. F. Majesty:" but added, that it was not his duty to suppose how far such opinion may be in accordance with that of the British Government. This reticence on the part of Sir Hamilton Seymour was, partly, in consequence of the complaints which he and his colleagues had received from the Chiefs of the fallen party; who asserted, that some of the members of the recently formed Administration were "Cabralistas;" and, as such, were, by the 4th Article of the Protocol, excluded from power.

It would, perhaps, have been difficult to find men, other than the avowed Miguelites and Septembrists, who, at the conclusion of the war, were *not* friendly to the Count de Thomar. That Minister had held office for nearly seven years (from 1839 to 1846), during which time he had contributed greatly to keep the country quiet; and was only expelled from power by the uncalled for revolution of "Maria da Fonte," which acquired strength by the union, in one party, of the Absolutists and the ultra-Liberals!

The usual complaints were also made, by the minority, respecting illegalities and corruption at the late elections; to all

of which, Sir Hamilton considered it his duty to lend an ear.

On the 8th of January, Saldanha resigned the War Office to his friend Solla, Baron de Francos. And now, the Chartist party was doomed to see division amongst its members. At the formation of the Administration, on the 18th of December, Sr. Bernardo Gorjão Henriques had succeeded to the Home Office. This Minister having announced his appointment to the chief authorities of the various Provinces, Sr. Lopes Branco, Civil Governor of Vizeu, at once sent in his resignation; and, on the same day, wrote to the Marshal, regretting that, as a Deputy, he could no longer support the Government. Shortly afterwards, Saldanha, as Prime Minister, had to complain of the conduct of Sr. Gorjão towards himself, for having, very injudiciously, dismissed various authorities in the Minho, who had been nominated by the Marshal while acting as the Queen's Lieutenant in the northern Provinces. Considering himself affronted, he addressed the following letter to his colleagues in the Ministry.

"*January* 24*th*, 1848.

"ILL^mos E EX^mos S^rs,

"After what has taken place, I consider it my duty to make known to your Excellencies that I have determined on tendering, this very day, my resignation as Minister. I will not sacrifice my honour or my self-respect either for the Queen, or even for my country: still less for Sr. Gorjão.

"When we entered the Ministry, your Excellencies know that, in consideration of the peculiar circumstances in which the Minho was placed, and from the fact of my having held there the appointment of Queen's Lieutenant, I requested Sr. Gorjão to consult with me respecting any changes which he might think it desirable to make in the civil appointments of that Province. My request was not attended to: and your Excellencies also know that I wrote to Sr. Gorjão on the 19th, that I chose rather to quit the Ministry than to submit to the indignity of seeing my acts, as Queen's Lieutenant, annulled by a Ministry of which I was President. On the 20th, Sr. Gorjão,

both as Home Minister and Minister of Justice, (notwithstanding the latter, for whom he has been acting *ad interim*, was already in Lisbon), dismissed and transferred persons who had received their appointments from me. I should be wanting to myself if I submitted to such an affront.

"Deputies from the Minho have just left me; and they assert, that it would seem as if Sr. Gorjão was intentionally desirous of setting that Province on fire. It is not I who will sanction, with my presence in the Ministry, so unfortunate a step.

"I have, etc., etc.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

On the same day, the Marshal wrote privately to the Minister of War, saying; that if the appointments of which he complained were not at once declared null and void, he should quit the Ministry. It is almost needless to add, that the required satisfaction was immediately given, and that Saldanha remained in office.

Other considerations than those of a personal nature, induced the Marshal to take this determined step. In a letter to the Count de Thomar, dated the 29th, he declares that Sr. Gorjão had not only acted in direct opposition to the principles of toleration which had been proclaimed on the formation of the Ministry; but that he had become hostile to many Chartists who had rendered great services during the recent strife. The Marshal adds, that as it would be an act of cowardice to retire from the Ministry until the answer to the Speech from the Throne had been discussed in the House of Peers, he would still hold his post until that discussion was over.

On the 25th, Saldanha, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, laid before the Chambers a Report of recent events, wherein he reminded the House of his refusal to put his name to the so-called "Convention of Gramido," which had been signed, on the 29th of June, by General Concha, Colonel Wylde, and the Junta Delegates; and which, when brought to the knowledge of the Representatives of England, France, and Spain, was disapproved of by them, and by the Government of H. M. F.

Majesty. In the same Report, the Marshal stated that, on the 12th of August, a Protocol had been signed at London, by which his Government had consented to allow British Ships of War, employed in the suppression of the Slave Trade, to enter certain ports of the Portuguese dominions on the eastern coast of Africa.

It would be tedious to describe the violent opposition that was made to the Government by the Chiefs of the late rebellion, and by their many partisans throughout the country. An account of the newspaper war that was carried on, at this period, would fill some volumes: suffice it to say, that misrepresentations and even falsehoods, of which Colonel Wylde and others had so justly complained, were still employed. To what extent the intrigues of the late rebels were carried, and with what success, we may fairly judge by the following interesting note which the Queen wrote to the Marshal at this time (February 4th). We may also assume from it, that even Lord Palmerston himself had been persuaded into the belief that the only sure means for the pacification of Portugal was the abdication of the Queen!!!

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"Seymour has just been here to show us a despatch from Lord Palmerston, with advice in the style of the *great philosopher* * * * * * *. He wants to show it to you. See if you can go, when you leave the Chambers, as if you were paying him a visit: and, at night, in the Portuguese Theatre, come and tell us what took place. Obstinate people! (Fortes teimosos). I told Seymour that we should be in no difficulty, were it not for the foreign protection given to the *patuleias*;* but that he might be sure that I would prefer death, fighting in the streets, rather than abdicate. He made a wry face and went off. I am losing all patience with such asinine counsellors.

"MARIA."

* Name applied to the rebels as signifying an armed mob.

The following curious proposal, contained in a note from the British Minister to Saldanha, serves to indicate the source from which Lord Palmerston derived his inspirations. The reader will observe that the individuals invited by Sir Hamilton were principally the Chiefs of the late rebellion!

"*February 4, at night.*

"MY DEAR MARSHAL,

"I have been thinking a great deal upon the subject of our conversation. The first thing that strikes me is that the Marquis de Loulé; Sá de Bandeira; M. d'Aguiar; and M. J. Sanches; besides M. Magalhães are to dine with me to-morrow.

"Now will this dinner be considered a political one—Drummond, Gomes, Figueira, and the Admiral dining here likewise?

"That is the first question. Now comes the second; how to prevent its having such a character just after the despatch?

"What if the Duke of Saldanha did us the honour of joining the party? All I can say is, that if the remedy is judged expedient, it is one that would be highly agreeable to me; and would, I suppose, be equally so to every one else of the company.

"I will only add that it will be a real satisfaction to me if my idea meets with your approbation. We dine at six.

"Pray believe me to be

"Very truly your's,

"G. H. SEYMOUR."

In order to reply to various misrepresentations contained in the newspapers, and to accusations made by the Opposition, the Marshal, during this Session, thought it incumbent upon him to address the House with respect to his political conduct. For this purpose, on the 14th of February, he rose and spoke at considerable length. We omit, for brevity's sake, many parts of the Marshal's speech—a speech, the interest of which was increased by that sonorous voice, by that unhesitating flow of words, and by that noble presence which created an

impression of the manliness and truth of the orator. All these advantages are lost to the reader: which loss, coupled with the inaccuracy of the reporter, and the manifest defects of a translation, will render him unable to appreciate the just remark of the British Consul of that time, who, on coming out of the House, observed, most enthusiastically, to the author: "I always knew that the Marshal was the first General of Portugal: it is only to-day that I know him to be her first orator."

"SENHOR PRESIDENT,

"Absent for more than twelve years from the Legislative Body, it is possible that, during the debate, I may use some unparliamentary expressions; should I do so, I implore your Eminence, and I beg my colleagues, to do me the justice to believe, that only involuntarily could I utter any expression implying want of respect for your Eminence, or disregard of the rules of this House, where discussion should be tranquil, and the strictest decorum should be observed.

"During this memorable debate, grave accusations have resounded through these halls; some of which have been made against me, and to these it is my duty to reply. They are:—The Decree for the military executions.—The *Coup d'État* and reactionary movement of Oct. 6th.—The suspension of the guarantees.—The proclamation of Oct. 6th. —The omission of a Manifesto.—The revolt of the Marshals.— The creation and continuance of the Battalions.—The capitulation of Torres Vedras.—The sending the prisoners to Africa. —The attack on the Lines to the south of Oporto. Leaving the revolt of the Marshals to be treated of at the close, I will take the other points in chronological order."

After reminding his hearers that in the ordinary events of life, and, more especially, in political affairs, it is very difficult to find two men of precisely similar opinions; and, after requesting them to attribute solely to that cause the different views which he and the members of the Opposition took of the events of October 6th; Saldanha proceeded to describe his position when, in July, 1846, he returned to Portugal. The spirit of faction was at its highest; the Miguelite party

was preparing for a vast rising; and the official reports from the Military Governors and Authorities in every part of the country, showed that Portugal was undermined by revolutionary conspiracies, which might explode from one moment to another.

"Senhor President," the Marshal continued, "during the last days of September, the police discovered in the *Rua de S. José* a depôt of arms and munitions, besides many important documents proving that the Miguelite conspiracy had ramifications all over the kingdom. Such, then, was the state of the country, with respect to the Miguelites, at the commencement of October.

"As to the situation of the Government with respect to the Party which supported it, I will not, Senhor President, describe it in my own words, but will avail myself of the eloquent language of its most strenuous defender, the worthy Peer, Sr. Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães. The Government in power during the first days of October was, according to the worthy Peer, a Government coerced, as it were, by a dagger pointed at its breast; a Government compelled to commit injustice; a Government in the agonies of death; and against which not only was there reason for just complaint, but which was charged with great and scandalous offences. And who were the members of this Government? The noble Duke de Palmella was its President; and my worthy friend, the Count de Lavradio, occupied a seat in it. Another of its members was that virtuous man whose fate we all deplore; that man so gifted with talent, learning and honesty,—my teacher and my friend,—to whom I had at least the satisfaction of being able to render some service, as I shed over his body, ere the breath of life abandoned it for ever, tears of sincere affliction. Accursed be all Civil Wars! As I have already described it, such was the state of the country, when, on the 6th of October, her Majesty intrusted me with the formation of an Administration.

"Senhor President:—I do not wish to give utterance to a single word which may wound the feelings of my political adversaries. I pledge my word of honour that I am making no

personal allusions in what I am now going to say. My firm conviction was, and is, that if the state in which we were on the 1st of October had continued, we should, ere long, have had the Throne of the Usurper once more established in Portugal, conducted thither on the road formed by an ephemeral regency. Without this conviction, without that ardent love of my country which animates me, without my devotion to her Majesty and her Dynasty, and without my faithful adherence to the Constitutional Charter; (which, but for my determined firmness, would, perhaps, have become a dead letter in 1826); why should I have undertaken the act of the 6th of October, which has been termed the boldest *Coup d'État*, the boldest enterprise recorded in the annals of Revolution?

"*Coup d'État* is a French term: if we accept the definition given by the Dictionary of the French Academy, which declares it to be a sudden stroke for the welfare of the State, I have no hesitation in agreeing that the change of Ministry, on the 6th of October, was a *Coup d'État;* but I do not admit the term, as interpreted by Montesquieu, with regard to the night referred to. No, Senhor President, there was most assuredly no violation of the law upon the 6th of October. The Constitutional Charter does not mark the hour at which the Ministers of the Crown are to be named; and the nominations made at eight o'clock at night are, therefore, as legal as those made at eight o'clock in the morning. On the 25th of May, 1835, it was past eleven o'clock at night when her Majesty dismissed the Ministry, and was pleased to charge me with the formation of a fresh Cabinet. All the measures adopted that night were perfectly within the province of the Minister of War. If you were to ask me why I did not wait until the morrow to put them into execution, I might have much to say; but I will not enter upon those particulars; for my desire is to soothe, and not to irritate the feelings of others. I will only call your attention to Oporto. The events of the 9th of October, which took place in that city, are the most complete justification of what was done in Lisbon on the night of the 6th. But even on that night, my predominant idea, my most ardent desire; was the union of the Portuguese: I wanted no reactions. To the Duke de Palmella,

I offered, in her Majesty's name, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers; I made more than one attempt to persuade the worthy Peer, Count do Bomfim, to continue in the command of the 1st Military Division; and I wrote to Count das Antas, telling him that he was to retain his command in the northern provinces."

Count das Antas: "I do not think the letter said anything upon that subject."

Duke da Terceira: "It is true that I was the bearer of the noble Marshal's letter; and of another from the worthy Peer, Count do Bomfim; but I cannot say whether those letters reached their destination."

Marshal Saldanha: "I begged the worthy Peer, Count do Bomfim, to write to Count das Antas, informing him of all that had taken place; and of my request that he (Bomfim) should retain the command of the 1st Military Division."

Count do Bomfim: "His Excellency's assertions are correct; I recounted how the Administration had fallen; and how the other had been formed; but I entered into no further particulars."

Marshal Saldanha: "I must descend to personalities in order to prove that the Government did not desire a reaction. The noble Count do Bomfim has three sons: his son Luiz was placed in the War Office in the post he himself selected: the police announced to the Government that, on the following day, at ten o'clock in the morning, the Count's eldest son, Sr. José Bento Valdez, was to meet two officers of the 8th battalion of Caçadores, at a house in the *Rua da Fé*, No. 52, 2nd floor, to treat for the defection of that corps; I immediately wrote to the Count, that he might caution his son, and prevent any disagreeable consequences. His Excellency replied; that he was assured by his son that he had held no such correspondence."

Count do Bomfim: "That is a fact."

Marshal Saldanha: "The other son of the worthy Peer, an Attaché to the Legation at London, was, by her Majesty, promoted to the rank of Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg; and I must request the Chamber to take notice, that it was on the 26th of October that her Majesty was pleased to sign the

Decree. These are facts which plainly show the system which the Government wished to follow; and prove that, as I have asserted, we desired no reaction.

"The events of the 9th of October, at Oporto, were truly a national calamity. Senhor President, the measure of misfortune was not yet filled; the Hand of the Almighty was still heavy upon us. And has not the moment yet arrived which will dispel our illusions? Are we still to behold private caprice and evil passions disputing furiously over the expiring body of our country—almost at its last gasp? Ah! if thus we are to continue, sad indeed must inevitably be our fate; and, sooner or later, we must cease to be considered among independent nations. Let us draw a veil over the past; let us set aside our personal desires; let self interest yield to the voice of patriotism: then will revolutions disappear, and our lovely country will be saved."

Saldanha then proceeded to declare, that the Proclamation of October 6th was the true programme of the Ministry which signed it. It was the olive branch and flag of peace offered to their adversaries; and if those adversaries had trampled upon it, it was not the fault of the Ministry. He was aware that, by some, the readmission of Count de Thomar and Sr. Silva Cabral to the Council of State was considered to have been contrary to that Proclamation; but he argued that such was not the case; and that, moreover, the reintegration of those victims of an arbitrary proceeding was an act of justice to which he was proud to have put his name.

After the applause elicited by the concluding observation had subsided, Saldanha referred to the suspension of the guarantees on the 7th of October; a measure which the enemies of the Administration had represented as illegal. This the Marshal denied; and declared it to have been proved necessary and justifiable.

It being now late, Saldanha did not conclude his speech until the following day, the 15th.

After briefly reviewing his remarks of the previous day, the Marshal proceeded to discuss the legality of the creation of the battalions, and their continued existence. Ere, however, he had spoken three sentences, Viscount de Fonte Arcada asked leave

to interrupt him. On this, Saldanha observed:—"If the worthy Peer insists upon it, I do not object; but I consider that the debate will gain little advantage from such interruptions; and I think it would be more convenient if they were reserved for a later period. As regards myself, personally, it is to me absolutely indifferent; for, as I only say that which I feel; as I only advance those truths which I am convinced of; all the interruptions which may be imagined will not embarrass me." The Viscount having withdrawn his request, Saldanha proceeded with his argument as to the legality of the creation of the battalions, founded upon Article 113 of the Charter; and the equal legality of their existence, when created, until they were dissolved by a law of the Cortes. Touching next upon the Decree for Military Executions, the Marshal spoke as follows:—

"After what has passed, Senhor President, I must confess that I was surprised to find that any remarks upon the Decree for the Military Executions should come from the opposite side of the House. Who is there on that side who does not know what happened with regard to this point?! The Decree for the Military Executions was a preventive measure; it was not issued with the intention of shooting men taken with arms in their hands, but to prevent others from going to swell the ranks of the rebels. On the day we approached Santarem, we captured a drove of cattle, and with them an armed civilian. This man declared to me that he belonged to the body of armed civilians commanded by Count da Taipa. According to the Decree I speak of, he ought to have been shot: but what did really occur? Why, half an hour afterwards he was on his way home with a few pence in his pocket. ('*That is true,*' and '*hear, hear,*' from Viscount de Fonte Arcada.) All others received similar treatment, as well as the guerillas who were captured at Torres Vedras at the commencement of the battle. All, except the officers, received passports, and money distributed among them by the officers of my Staff, to enable them to reach their homes. But more than that, Senhor President! Of the very men who had bribed these people to enlist, and who, after being tried by a Council of War and declared guilty,

(either from the evidence or from their own confession) were sentenced to death, not one single man did I have shot. And would not this be the opportunity for showing the other side of the picture? It would, Senhor President; but, I repeat, I will not do so, because my desire is not to irritate but to pacify: I will rest satisfied with the testimony of my own conscience, which, if it accuses me of anything, it is of being, perhaps, too generous."

Replying to Sr. Gomes de Castro's remark, that to the absence of a Manifesto was to be attributed the unfavourable feeling which existed in some countries against Portugal, Saldanha asserted that there had been no omission on this point. The Government had hesitated between the issue of a Manifesto or of a Circular; and had, finally, chosen the latter, which was drawn up by Sr. Sousa de Azevedo, and submitted to those Sovereigns of Europe more immediately connected with Portugal. Treating of the Capitulation of Torres Vedras the Marshal said:—

"The first consequence of the 'fatal affair of Torres Vedras;' (as it was called by the worthy Peer, Sr. Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães;)—and I do the worthy Peer the justice to believe that he selected the adjective 'fatal,' not because that event rendered invulnerable the Throne of our Queen; not because it laid low a party which was resuscitated by incorporation with the Miguelites; not because the Constitutional Charter was, through it, preserved intact and free from the sacrilegious hands extended to destroy it; but because all those advantages were obtained at the cost of so much Portuguese blood:—the first consequence of that event, which has been, within these walls, so often attributed to fortune and fate; but which, from the beginning, I attributed to the Lord God of Armies, both in my official despatch and in my letter to my wife, written that very night, when I said:—'Accept no compliments! Only give thanks to God: deeds such as this day has witnessed are beyond the efforts of man; nothing but the Hand of the Almighty has power to perform them:'—the first consequence of that event, I repeat, was the 'Capitulation,' as the Count do Bomfim is pleased to call it."

Saldanha then proceeded to explain the true signification of the term "Capitulation;" and read the correspondence which had passed between Bomfim and himself on the 23rd of December, 1846, which has been already referred to. He then continued:—

"The situation of the forces occupying the Castle was desperate in the extreme. Every one, who has any practical knowledge of warfare, is aware what ardent thirst the soldier feels after a battle in which he has had to bite the ends off many cartridges. There was not a drop of water in the Castle. The men were literally heaped together. The artillery which was to annihilate them was in position. Exit was impossible. It was under these circumstances, that I granted the conditions requested. But, it may be said, people often make a virtue of necessity; and you granted those conditions because you wanted to hasten the surrender, fearing that you might be attacked by others of the enemy's forces. No, Senhor President, I had no such fear. My determination was founded solely on the desire to avoid humiliating a conquered enemy; it arose from a wish to shew that I appreciated and honoured the bravery with which they had fought.

"Then followed the departure of the prisoners to Angola. Senhor President:—The worthy Peer, Sr. Sousa de Azevedo, has already asked to be heard; and will, most probably, inform you as to the conference which preceded that decision. I will limit myself to remarking that, as soon as the intentions of the Government were made known to me, I wrote to the worthy Peer, Sr. Sousa de Azevedo, laying before him the objections I had to the prisoners being sent to Africa; and the advantages of sending them to India. His Excellency replied, the same day, declaring that he entirely approved of my ideas; but, when, on the following day, he presented my letter to the Council of Ministers, where the affair was being discussed, the Minister of Marine produced some letters from India which proved that an attempt at a revolution had taken place there.

"Under these circumstances it became necessary to send them to Angola; I approved of the measure, and I share the responsibility of it with that Ministry.

"It was in this Chamber that, for the first time, I heard speak of instructions given to the Commandant of the brig *Audaz*, and sent to the Governor of Angola.

"The worthy Peer, my friend and colleague, Sr. Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, has, in more than one place, almost elevated me to the honour of originator of the late coalition; * that coalition which his Excellency has, on more than one occasion, praised so much, but to which he declared that he did not belong, and did not wish to belong; and, therefore, he will not be surprised, that I do not accept the honour. When his Excellency, treating of the coalition, announced that I had proposed the formation of a Ministry composed of two Chartists, two Septembrists, and two Royalists, nobody could suppose but that the proposal was a recent one; whereas my proposal dates from 1840.

"The question of the navigation of the Douro, and the ill-timed closing of the Chambers, had involved us in difficulties with the Spanish Government. I was sent there upon a special mission. While there, an article was published in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, on account of which I demanded an apology in that paper, or my passport in forty-eight hours. All the diplomatists considered a war inevitable; but the apology appeared, the negotiations continued, and were brought to a successful termination.

"It was at the moment when war was considered inevitable that I wrote, and said, that, perhaps, Providence was offering us a means of uniting the Portuguese Family: that in the hearts of the Portuguese the predominant idea was love for the independence of their country: that a manifesto published by her Majesty calling all Portuguese to arms, for the defence of our independence; and the formation of a Ministry composed of two Chartists, two Septembrists, and two Royalists, would be the best means of resisting an invasion that appeared imminent. The worthy Peer, Sr. Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs, was struck with horror at the idea; and wrote that, by the friendship he bore me, he would keep it an inviolable secret. After keeping that promise for

* Between the Miguelites and the Septembrists.

seven years, his Excellency comes and divulges it in open Parliament: by which I cannot but feel persuaded, that time has produced some effect; and that the worthy Peer now approves of the plan which he, at that time, condemned. I thank his Excellency for making my idea public; I am proud of it—as proud as I am of the profound sentiment of nationality from which it emanated. In the party called 'Royalist' there are two distinct bodies; one composed of the followers of the proscribed Prince; the other of the friends of the old Monarchy, but who recognise as legitimate the reigning dynasty. It was from the latter, (with whom, I am proud to say, I am on friendly terms,) that I wished the two members of the Ministry to be selected.

"The coalition which his Excellency has praised is composed of two elements. The Royalists entered it in obedience to a positive order which they received from the proscribed Prince, who sent them a so-called 'Carta Regia,' of which I hold an authentic copy, commanding them to obey General Povoas. Of the other element, I will say nothing; because it was not the individuals who composed it who brought on this debate; and because my object is not to embitter our discussions. I leave it to the House to judge, if there is the slightest parity between my proposal and the coalition praised by the worthy Peer.

"Pleasing and persuasive was that part of the speech of the worthy Peer, when he proved the advantage of legal opposition over that of a recourse to arms. I, too, am of that opinion; although it has cost us dear.

"In 1834 and 1835, I had the honour of belonging to the Opposition in the Chamber of Deputies: an Opposition legal, conscientious and worthy of respect. A day arrived when they were seized with an anxious haste to attain to power; and a Member of that Opposition came one morning to my house, and announced that all was ready for the overthrow of the Ministry by force; nothing was wanting but that I should place myself at the head of the movement. I asked him if we were in Constantinople to be making Janizary revolutions? He persisted, saying, that by legitimate means we should never

get into office; and that, if I would not join the movement, they would carry it out without my co-operation. I assured him that he would encounter me, on the other side, with sword in hand. 'I tell you upon my oath that you have closed your political career,' said the Deputy, as he withdrew. This was the reason which induced me to accept the Mission to Paris in that year.

"Since that moment, that very ex-Deputy has waged a most atrocious war against me; depicting me as having sixty, seventy, eighty—I know not how many—faces. I forgive him, Senhor President, from the bottom of my heart,—and why? Because I know that it was he who, even at the risk of his popularity, effectually assisted my old friend, Sr. Passos (Manoel), in the arduous but glorious task of avoiding, in 1836, proceedings which would have covered the party they belonged to with dishonour.

"The worthy Peer, Sr. Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, treated the memory of one of our statesmen, Count da Barca, with very little respect, when he spoke of the Portuguese Army, previous to the departure of D. John VI. to Brazil. Count da Barca had thoroughly organized the Army. It was well clothed, well equipped, and well disciplined. But that Army was disbanded by Junot; and our two best generals, Marquis de Alorna and Gomes Freire, with many other officers, had the glory of making known in the north of Europe the valour of the Portuguese soldier: the rest disappeared. A rising of the people drove out the French in 1808. An army was immediately got together, which was a shapeless mass; insubordinate and undisciplined. It was under these circumstances, that Marshal Beresford took the command of the Portuguese Army. This illustrious General, the most just man I have ever known, the man to whom Portugal owes so much, to whom the Army owes so much, and I, myself, more than any other, had the ability to produce such a metamorphosis in the Army, that, in that battle of Busaco to which the worthy Peer alluded—and in which I had the honour, at the age of nineteen, of commanding a battalion, and, in consequence, received a medal of distinction from the Prince Regent of

Portugal, and another from the Prince Regent of Great Britain, —in that battle, I say, where, for the first time, Massena, the Angel of Victory, had his wings clipped, the conduct of the Portuguese Army was such, that the French Marshal wrote home, that the English General, to deceive him, had made the English soldiers dress themselves in Portuguese uniforms! The Portuguese soldier is the type of perfection; to the cool, reflecting courage of the British soldier, he joins all the enthusiasm of the French; and to both these qualities he unites a constancy and patience under suffering, which lead him to bear the greatest privations without ever failing in due respect to his superiors. Honour, all honour, be given then to the Portuguese soldier. The position of Busaco being flanked, the Army came to occupy the lines of Torres Vedras, where the French eagle found, for the first time, an invincible barrier which stopped its glorious flight,—another '*fatal event at Torres Vedras*,' but which, like the one of recent times, was not '*fatal*' to the legitimate Sovereign of these realms, but to his enemies. But it was not Lisbon, alone, which found a defence in those Lines; it was not London; it was Europe, Europe entire.

"Behind those Lines, there was not only the Army which defended them; there also took refuge the population of entire provinces; who, as yet undemoralized, had obeyed the voice of their governors; had abandoned their homes; and had set fire to all the stores they could not carry with them; sacrificing everything but their country's independence.

"When Napoleon, in 1812, invaded Russia at the head of 600,000 tried troops, the Emperor Alexander issued a proclamation to his people, calling upon them to imitate the example of the Portuguese. They obeyed his call; they abandoned their homes; destroyed their provisions; and set fire to the Kremlin. Moscow was destroyed, but the Russian Empire was saved; the prestige of Napoleon disappeared; and Europe was rescued. These glorious results were due to the example set by Portuguese. Honour and glory for ever to the Portuguese Nation!! And am I, Senhor President, who have the honour to belong to such a country, to fear a Castilian's shoe, or

an Aragonese's clog, or a Frenchman's gaiter? No, Senhor President, a thousand times no. Let the Portuguese Family be united as I wish; let us educate the people; let us place our Army in a proper condition; and our independence will run no risk. It was not only the worthy Peer, Sr. Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, who drew the distinction between mediation and intervention; I drew it, also, from the beginning; but the divergence is great, upon this head, between the worthy Peer and myself. His Excellency desired mediation; I wished only for intervention. Mediation raised the rebel Junta to the level of the Sovereign; intervention supplied the Sovereign with the force necessary for the reduction to obedience of her rebellious subjects. Upon this head I will say no more; as another worthy Peer, who was at that time in the Ministry, will treat of the matter at length.

"The worthy Peer, Count das Antas, informed the Chamber that I fought in the streets of Paris during the three days of the Revolution of July. It is quite true that I did so; and, if your Excellency will allow me, I will say that I then acted as I always have acted; and that, among other things, I was one of the first who entered the Hotel de Ville. It was, undoubtedly, one of the principal episodes of my life; during which, extraordinary were the events I took part in, owing to my connection with the most virtuous man I have ever known, General Lafayette. To enable the House to appreciate the position I then filled at Paris, I will state that I was the only individual, not a Deputy, who was present at the debate in which the change of Dynasty was decided upon. But, Senhor President, did I cease, during those three days, to fight for the liberty of my country? Did I cease, during those three days, to fight for the Throne of my Queen? Without the victory we gained in those three days, could we possibly have overthrown the Throne of the Usurper? I pride myself, therefore, upon the active part I took in those events.

"I have now only to speak of the revolt of the Marshals; and I sincerely thank Count do Bomfim for affording me an opportunity of doing so. In July, 1836, I had the honour of accompanying his Majesty, the King, to the province of Minho. When, on our returning, we reached Leiria, my relative, friend,

and colleague, the Duke da Terceira, who was then President of the Cabinet, remarked to me in a loud voice—for we were a short distance apart,—'We shall gain the elections!' to which I immediately replied: 'Yes? well then, prepare for a revolution.' A few weeks afterwards, my prophecy was fulfilled. Whenever a revolution takes place, it is difficult to decide to whom the honour of creating it belongs; the claimants being so numerous. This, however, did not happen with the revolution which took place on the 9th of September, 1836. It was of such a nature, that I never heard any one lay claim to the honour of being its author. The movement took place in Lisbon; but not another city, town, or village, adhered to it; and it was only after receiving the orders of the Executive Power that, in the various districts of the kingdom, the Constitutional Charter ceased to be the fundamental law of the country.

"Having withdrawn from Lisbon, under the firm conviction that that revolution had been anti-national, I wrote to the Minister of War, announcing that I would not take the oath to the new order of things, because I wished to reserve to myself the right of opposing it hereafter.

"During the following month, Lieutenant-Colonel Barreiros, now Brigadier Baron da Luz, arrived at Lisbon from Madrid. He visited me at Penha Longa, and informed me as to the disposition in which he had found some of the Ministers and other influential supporters of the situation. I immediately told him, that I did not treat of persons but of things; and that, if the Constitutional Charter was restored, whatever the Ministry who effected it might be, I would support it.

"Baron da Luz continued to be the mediator between those gentlemen and myself; and, having overcome the difficulties raised by Viscount de Sá, who was the most opposed to it, he sought, by his advice, to make terms with Sr. Julio Gomes da Silva Sanches. Not to tire the House, I will simply say, that, to bring that most important affair to a conclusion, Sr. A. A. Jervis de Athoguia went to Penha Longa to invite me to a conference, at Oeiras, with the Marquis de Loulé, for the purpose of combining the mode of effecting the re-establishment of the Constitutional Charter.

"Srs. Passos (Manoel), Antonio Cesar de Vasconcellos, Julio Gomes da Silva Sanches and Count de Lumiares, together with the Marquis de Loulé and Sá da Bandeira, of whom I have already spoken, were agreed upon this point.

"For the complete and perfect re-establishment of the Constitutional Charter, it was stipulated that two individuals should make a sacrifice; by which sacrifice they were to renounce their position as Peers. These gentlemen, (one of whom has ceased to exist, and the other is out of the country), having been informed of what was in contemplation, promoted, as I have been told, that sad affair which is known as the *Belemzada*, of which, from what I have narrated, it is evident that I had not the slightest previous knowledge. Nevertheless, I was able to do some service, as may be seen by the Decree of November 6th, 1836.

"I went with full powers to treat with the Delegates of the people. These gentlemen met, in a considerable number, at the house of the worthy Peer, Count da Ribeira Grande; and I was able to obtain that the new Constitution should be based upon the Constitutional Charter and the Constitution of 1822. After this I did not retire on board ship; I mounted my horse and returned to my residence. There I was living, in perfect tranquillity, when, in 1837, a movement took place, promoted, more especially, by one of those persons who lately composed the Junta of Oporto. The names of the Marshals were invoked to attract the Army; and, although that movement did not originate with us, yet seeing that a large number of our friends were compromised, we, a fortnight after it broke out, took the field, in spite of the almost desperate condition of affairs. That celebrated Campaign lasted for more than two months; and the Chamber will allow me to remark that, of all my military achievements, it is the one I am most proud of.*

"Generals Baron da Varzea do Douro and Baron de Leiria, together with Sr. Jervis de Athoguia thought it their duty to await the enemy at Ruivães, although they knew for certain that the Marshals would join them that very afternoon. They were

* The Duke of Wellington, in 1841, complimented Saldanha on the rapidity of his marches, and on the strategy by which he had deceived the enemy.

defeated by Count das Antas; and the result was the Convention of Chaves. I emigrated; went to Paris; and, while there, Count do Bomfim, who was then Minister of War, remembering our former friendship, wrote to me to take the oath to the Constitution which was about to be prepared, that he might order my appointments to be paid. Again I refused; but, after two general elections had led me to believe that the Nation had adopted that Constitution,—as I then wished, and always shall wish, to be a Portuguese,—I took the required oath. And to it I was faithful, Senhor President, in spite of great temptations.

"I ought here to declare that, like myself, the Duke da Terceira and the greater part of the officers who had accompanied us in 1837, had also abstained from taking the oath to the new order of things."

After a few words in vindication of the policy of his Administration, the Marshal concluded this wonderful oration by declaring that the principles on which he was determined to carry on the government of the Country were those of firmness, candour and truth, not only in financial affairs, but also in all the other branches of the Administration.

Whether acting on his own convictions, or following out the instructions of Lord Palmerston, certain it is that the British Envoy lent a ready ear to the complaints of the late rebels. We have seen him told by the Queen herself:—"we should be in no difficulty, were it not for the foreign protection given to the *patuleias*." It must have been a strange sight—and not a very pleasing one to her Majesty and her Ministers—to see Sir H. Seymour dispensing his hospitality to their late opponents in arms, whose paramount object had been to thrust the Queen from her throne! But the key to this conduct of the Envoy and of his Chief is to be found in their suspicions respecting the Count de Thomar; in their fear that, if this able Minister returned to power, the influence of France and Spain, at Lisbon, would dominate over that of England. To prevent this, poor Portugal was to be sacrificed, and the Queen herself be advised—if not compelled—to abdicate!

The despatch from Lord Palmerston, referred to in the Queen's note, was officially communicated to Saldanha, on

the 4th of February, after a private conversation with Sir Hamilton on the morning of that day. If the Marshal, at that interview, had made him acquainted with the tenor of the royal note, we can readily imagine the Envoy's desire that his dinner to the late rebels "should not be considered a political one." Be that as it may, the despatch from Lord Palmerston led to a correspondence between the Marshal and the Envoy, which ended in a breach between them.

In officially acknowledging (February 19th) the reception of a copy of the said despatch, the Marshal declared that his colleagues and himself had observed with pain, that the Government of her Britannic Majesty had been supplied with "very inexact information." * The Marshal continued to say:

"If information has reached the Government of her Britannic Majesty that scarcely anywhere were the elections free; that they were mostly determined by illegal proceedings; and that the Cortes do not truly represent the Portuguese Nation; the Government of H. M. F. Majesty, on the contrary, is satisfied that these elections were made with freedom and legality; and that, perhaps, never before did so large a number of electors give their votes; supported, as they were, by every legal means in the power of the Government. The truth of this assertion, fully made manifest by proofs, is not to be destroyed by the vague declamations of those whom the nation has rejected. The legality of these elections has been determined, according to the laws of the country, by the sole tribunal which is competent to give judgment; and, unless by a direct attack on the Constitution of the Kingdom, the Government cannot arrogate

* The following is an extract from the despatch referred to. It is dated, London, January 25th. "Her Majesty's Government have learnt with great concern that the elections were scarcely anywhere free, but were almost everywhere swayed by illegal proceedings; and that the Cortes so produced represents only one party in the country, and is by no means a true representative of the Portuguese nation; and her Majesty's Government cannot consider such proceedings as being either an entrance upon the true constitutional path, or an accomplishment of the engagements of the Protocol." If we may judge by the complaints of the losing party at elections, Lord Palmerston's remonstrances, up to the present time, 1880, have been of little avail in Portugal.

to itself the right to interfere, much less can it acknowledge such right in a foreign one.

"In these circumstances, the Government of H. M. F. Majesty cannot do otherwise than request that your Excellency will have it brought to the notice of H. B. Majesty, that the existence of the Despatch of the 25th of January can have but one effect: which is, that amongst the enemies of the Throne, of the Constitutional Charter, and of public tranquillity, their hope of support will be revived, and their revolutionary attempts renewed, in order to rekindle the torch of civil war: and this, most surely, is not the intention of the Government of the most ancient ally of Portugal.

"In the Note which your Excellency addressed to me, in reply to mine of the 3rd of January, you declared that it was not likely that you would become cognizant of the opinions of your Government respecting the acts which preceded the opening of the Cortes, until after it had been in communication with the Cabinets of Paris and Madrid. Would that it had been so: for, perhaps, the Government of Spain (as your Excellency will see by the enclosed copy) would have made known to the Government of H. B. Majesty the true proceedings connected with the late elections; and M. Guizot would not have failed to repeat what he had affirmed on the 5th of September and the 24th of December: * 'That, now that this Kingdom was restored to its normal state, it belonged only to the Government of the Queen to determine its internal affairs.'"

Sir Hamilton Seymour, after acknowledging the receipt of this Note, writes: "Your Excellency affirms that her Majesty's Government is totally misinformed respecting the circumstances which attended the recent elections. This implies a grave accusation against the person who supplied the presumed incorrect information to her Majesty's Government: and, as no doubt should exist on this subject, I beg leave distinctly to declare, that the opinions expressed by the principal Secretary of State, were based on my despatches.

"Whether this information was substantially correct or false,

* The reader is requested to observe this latter date.

is a fact which evidently cannot be decided by assertion or counter-assertion. I can only say, that the opinion I advanced, respecting the regularity or irregularity of the late elections, is an opinion which I shall be ready to justify whenever called upon by her Majesty's Government."

Undoubtedly, the Envoy might have obtained proofs of bribery at the elections. The author fears that, even at this day, the sale of votes in Portugal, *and elsewhere*, has not ceased.

The Envoy continues, at some length, to assert the right of his Government to give expression to its opinions, in consideration of the important assistance it had recently afforded to the Queen; and he rather pointedly remarks, that the Marshal appeared only ready to admit of such an expression when favourable. Referring to these opinions, the Envoy added, that, with respect to the former, it was hardly probable that her Majesty's Government would give credit to the assertions of a foreign diplomatic Agent, and deny it to one of its own servants: and that, "*with respect to the latter, I would observe that no opinion bearing upon the regularity or irregularity of the Portuguese elections is, I apprehend, to be found in the despatches of the French Minister, which appear to have been written on the 5th September, and 4th December, the elections having only taken place in the latter of these months.*"

The lines which we have inserted in italics implied a charge of gross misrepresentation on the part of the Marshal, as having stated that the French Government, in a despatch dated December 4th, had approved the legality of elections, which, in reality, at that epoch, had not taken place! But, on reference to the note in the preceding page, it will be seen that the despatch quoted by the Marshal was dated the 24th. Sir Hamilton, on the discovery of his error, begged to substitute an amended Note for the one previously sent in. In this, the alteration made was not a simple correction of the date—which, in fact, was totally omitted—but a new colour was given to the sentence. It now ran as follows:

"With respect to the latter, I can only observe that I have no knowledge of the despatches of the French Minister to which

reference is made; but it is singular that, whilst your Excellency makes no allusion to their contents, the date of one of them (September 5th) is much anterior to that of the elections."

The Marshal was not a little indignant at the insinuation contained in the original sentence: nor was the amendment entirely satisfactory.

And now, a further cause of dissension arose between the Minister and the Envoy. Sir Hamilton wrote, privately, to complain that some confidential conversation with the Marshal had been quoted and misrepresented in the *Estandarte*. To this, the Marshal officially replied, on the 23rd of February, as follows:

"SIR,

"On the day immediately after the arrival of the last packet, your Excellency requested an opportunity of making an important comm nication. On that day, at the House of Peers, an interview took place, when you were so good as to inform me confidentially, that you had received private instructions from your Government to endeavour to dispel the illusions of the Miguelites, by pointing out to them their duty to the Queen and to her Dynasty; and by assuring them that, whatever might be the Ministry in England, it would never cease to oppose the return of the Usurper to Portugal. With respect to our present situation, your Excellency told me that the Government of H. B. Majesty still were of opinion that illegalities had been committed at the late elections; but that, nevertheless, it was urgent to keep the country quiet, in order that the Cortes should legislate with freedom. As was my duty, I made known this confidential communication to her Majesty and to the Members of the Cabinet; and, shortly afterwards, I received the felicitations of more than one Member of the Corps Diplomatique, in consequence of what your Excellency had communicated to them. A Chartist Newspaper, but not a Government one, made known the news: the Opposition papers denied them: the silence, in this case, of the Government Gazette may lead to serious consequences.

"When your Excellency confidentially made known to me the instructions which you had received from your Government; and which, from their very nature, were not intended to be kept secret, I considered that the communication was confidential in respect to it being your Excellency who was charged to carry out those instructions.

"At our interview after your Excellency sent me a copy of Lord Palmerston's despatch of January 25th, I remarked that that despatch might rekindle the torch of civil war; and that the blood which might be spilt in consequence would not fall on my head, but on the heads of those who were the cause of it. Allow me to repeat this; and to add, that the frank and unreserved publication of the recent instructions from your Government, which your Excellency confidentially communicated to me, would contribute, most efficaciously, to deprive the revolutionists of all hope of finding support for the projected revolts. Permit me further to observe, that on the publication of those instructions very much depends the accomplishment of the benevolent desires of H. B. Majesty's Government: because, in the absence of revolts, the Government of H. M. F. Majesty can continue the course of that generous conciliation which it so much desires to pursue; whilst the secrecy observed respecting the instructions you have received from your Government—after their discussion in the newspapers—cannot but lead to fresh perturbations in the country, and more spilling of blood; and oblige the Government of H. M. F. Majesty to employ rigorous measures instead of those of peace and conciliation.

"For these motives, I beg your Excellency to allow me to authorize the publication in the *Diario do Governo* of those instructions which you lately made known to me.

"I take this, etc., etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

The Envoy having replied to this Note, by declaring that he could not consent to the publication of the despatch in question, which he considered as a confidential communication, the Marshal again wrote, and reminded him that in the Envoy's private note, written on the arrival of the packet, the words

employed were not, "a communication of a confidential nature," but were "important communications." The Marshal repeated his former statement of what took place at their interview; and, regretting the publication in the newspapers of any version of the contents of the despatch, he expressed his desire to ascertain by what means it could have reached the Editors. He assured the Envoy that it would be unjust to ascribe the publication to any Member of the Cabinet: and concluded his Note as follows:

"The communication made to me by your Excellency would (if I had been in doubt) have convinced me of the benevolent desire of the Government of H. B. Majesty, that we should enjoy quiet; and that the Constitution should be a reality. The hopes entertained by the enemies of order, which give life to the idea which they wish should be entertained by their party,—that they receive countenance at the Legation of H. B. Majesty—are necessarily in contradiction with the desires of the Government of H. B. Majesty. Your Excellency could, by a word, dispel their illusion, and could take from the enemies of the Throne and of Liberty all pretext for fomenting fresh disorders: but you consider that you must not do so. I therefore cease to insist.

"Unfortunately, our memories are not always faithful. In this case, each of us is convinced that he uttered and heard different words: 'assertion against assertion proves nothing.' For this reason, in order that the interests of our countries should not suffer from our lapses of memory, I cannot but request that, for the future, our communications on affairs of business should be made in writing."

It is difficult to conceive the object of Sir Hamilton Seymour's "important communication" if no publicity was to be given to it. The Miguelite party was to be made convinced that the British Government, whether Conservative or Liberal, would never consent to allow D. Miguel to usurp the Crown of Portugal. The first step which the Envoy would take to make known this resolution must quickly have been made public. At all events, the secret oozed out through one channel or another; and Talleyrand's observation to Saldanha was exem-

plified: "My dear General, there are few secrets worth keeping 24 hours: there are none which it is possible to keep beyond that time."

The breach between the generous-minded Marshal and the amiable Sir H. Seymour was not of long duration. For the preceding correspondence was scarcely penned when a circumstance occurred which led to a speedy reconciliation. The Viscount d'Alte having invited the Ministry and the Corps Diplomatique to a dinner on the 2nd of March, Saldanha was conversing with the Nuncio and three other Chiefs of Missions, when Sir Hamilton entered the room. He, after saluting the Viscount, was about to join the group; but, seeing Saldanha, he directed his steps in another direction. Upon which, the Nuncio expressed great regret at seeing this misunderstanding between the two; and added, that the whole Corps Diplomatique equally deplored it. The Marshal, in reply, enquired if ever they had found a motive for complaint in any transaction with him as Minister for Foreign Affairs. They all protested their great pleasure at seeing him in charge of the Foreign Office, where business was always carried on in the most satisfactory manner. "Well, then," he observed, "the fault of our disagreement, to all appearance, is little likely to be mine." After dinner, the Nuncio approached Saldanha, and told him that he had full powers from Sir Hamilton Seymour to endeavour to bring to an end the misunderstanding between them. Upon this, the Marshal replied that he would, with the greatest pleasure, confer similar powers on the Viscount da Carreira. It was finally agreed between the plenipotentiaries, that all Notes and letters which had contributed to this unpleasantness should be returned to the writers through the hands of the Nuncio and the Viscount. This was accordingly done; and the former friendly relations between the two statesmen were resumed.

Shortly after this, some divergence of opinion having arisen between Sr. Gorjão and his colleagues in the Ministry; and the subject having been brought to the notice of the Marshal, he immediately addressed the following note to the Home Minister:

"S. C., *March 25th*, 1848.

"ILL^MO E EX^MO S^R,

"I have this moment received a letter from the Minister of Finance, in which he informs me of what took place at the Office of the Civil Governor, respecting the 'Company of Public Works;' and, in consequence, I am sorry to say that it is absolutely necessary that either your Excellency or ourselves should ask for our dismissal as Ministers of the Crown.

"I have, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

Sr. Gorjão resigned, and various changes took place in the Ministry. Saldanha, on the 29th, assumed the Portfolio of the Home Department, and quitted the Foreign Office. Sr. João Elias became Minister of Justice in place of the Bishop of Vizeu: Baron de Ourem took the Marine Portfolio: whilst the place of Saldanha at the Foreign Office was supplied by Sr. Gomes de Castro.

Having entered the Home Office, the Marshal was not long in setting to work to carry out the promises of his Ministry. In a Circular to all the Civil Governors of the Kingdom, (dated April 3rd), after declaring that employments would be confided only to the deserving, and to men whose character was without reproach, he desires to have the names of those who were entitled by their previous conduct to be retained in the public service; and of those who by misconduct deserved dismissal, or a criminal prosecution. Especial instructions were forwarded to the Civil Governors respecting the Administrators of Districts. Such were to be immediately suspended from their office if charged with corruption or robbery, or with undue exercise of power to the oppression of the people, or with intolerance towards any particular Party. At the same time, the Governors were warned to observe the utmost care in accepting proofs of such misconduct, owing to the animosity by which facts are often disfigured, or even invented, by adverse parties. Above all, they were desired to nominate such men only, whose well known moral conduct would influence, by their example, their subordinates in authority, as well as the people themselves.

Friendly feelings had been completely restored between the Marshal and Sir H. Seymour. Perhaps, the latter now did justice to Saldanha's policy and acts; warned, we may presume, by the conduct of the agitators throughout Europe, and by the recent establishment of a Republic in France.

We also learn by a letter from the Duke de Palmella to Saldanha, that, however great had been the political differences between them, the continuance of a friendly intercourse was not interrupted. On the 25th of May, the Marshal's only daughter, D. Eugenia de Saldanha, was married to the Count de Tavarede. On this occasion, Palmella wrote to regret that, in consequence of being in deep mourning, he would be unable to be present at the ceremony.

About this time, the Duke de Valencia, the Spanish Prime Minister, made known that his Sovereign had expressed her intention of conferring on Saldanha the first vacant Collar of the Golden Fleece.

Although we have not thought it necessary to enter on the subject of the changes in Portuguese legislation, we cannot avoid mentioning the very significant law of the 10th of May, which provided the means of collecting those taxes which were in arrear from August 1833 to June 1847. In such a condition had been the country during this time, that the attempt to collect a tax was often the occasion of a Minister's fall, if not the signal for a revolution. We, therefore, must not wonder how little progress was made towards the establishment and carrying out of wise laws, when to secure their own places became the chief object of a Ministry.

On the approach of summer, the Marshal had sent his wife and family to the cool and pleasant village of Cintra; and, during his absence, numerous were the little notes he wrote to her, in which, although mentioning the many and furious political opponents he had to encounter, he constantly expressed his belief of being able to keep the country quiet. On the 15th of August, the Queen closed the Session.

Saldanha, all this while, had never relinquished the desire of returning to his diplomatic employment; and he still retained his nomination to the post of Minister at Madrid. By a Royal

Decree, dated August 22nd, he was transferred to Paris; but it was declared, in the same Decree, that, for the present, the Queen could not dispense with his services as President of the Council and Home Minister.

The author was, at this time, in England. Whilst there, he received a letter from the Marshal, dated September 17th, in which was written: "Perfect tranquillity and order prevail all over the country. The most exalted chiefs of the *patuleia* seem to have lost all hope." In support of his opinion, the Marshal refers to proposals which had been made to the Government, by foreigners, for the construction of railways between Lisbon and Oporto, and Cintra: and he expresses a great desire that, plans, so beneficial to Portugal, may be carried into execution during his Administration."

But although the revolutionary party was to all appearance quiet, and could find no just pretence for complaint, yet it continued, with secret plots, its attempts to overthrow the Chartist Government. General Count do Casal writes to Saldanha, from Oporto, on the 18th, that he knew that the enemies of the Throne were busily at work in the hope of some Spanish insurrection in Galicia; and that their revolutionary Clubs only waited for a favourable moment to carry out their mad plans: but he confides, as he says, in the Marshal, not only as first Minister, but as the first General of the Portuguese, to thwart them.

The ex-Minister, Azevedo, also writes, at this time, to Saldanha, to remind him of the Royal Letter which he received after the victory at Torres Vedras; in which, the Queen, after gratefully thanking him, adds; "until I can offer you further proof of my royal munificence." The proof alluded to, says Azevedo, was the future appointment of the Marshal to the high office of Mordomo Môr, for which he now offers him congratulations. This appointment is for life.

The "Carta Regia," on this occasion, is dated September 19th, 1848, and is worded as follows:

"Honoured Duke de Saldanha, etc., etc. I, the Queen, greet you as one whom I greatly esteem.

"In consideration of your distinguished merit, and the

important services you have rendered to the Throne and the Constitutional Charter by your extreme valour, honourable conduct, and ability, in your military, as well as in your administrative and diplomatic career; and desirous of affording you the most solemn testimony of the unbounded confidence which I have in your high moral, civil, and religious virtues, and in your adherence and pure loyalty to myself and family, I appoint you to the office of Mordomo Môr in my Royal Household, etc., etc.

"(Signed) RAINHA.

"JOSÉ JOAQUIM GOMES DE CASTRO."

In October, the Count de Thomar resumed the post of Minister at Madrid. On his way there, he writes to the Marshal, from Estremoz, (October 27th) complaining bitterly of the wretched state of the roads over which he had travelled: and he very justly observes how extraordinary it was, that the people, who had made a revolution two years previously on account of the laws which he had introduced for the purpose of improving the highways, were now crying out for roads at any sacrifice. The Count adds: "I augur well for the success of your newly projected law on this subject, because it will come after the people have opened their eyes to their real interest."

The hopes both of the Septembrists and of the Miguelites had been renewed by the unsettled state of Spain and Italy; as well as by the establishment of a Republic in France. But the Marshal still felt convinced of his power to keep the country quiet. When the French Republic was proclaimed, there were in Lisbon no less than 300 officers of the Portuguese army who had served under the orders of the late revolutionary Junta. The Ministers, fearing the presence in the Capital of so many political adversaries, were of opinion that these officers should be dispersed throughout the country. Saldanha alone opposed such a measure. The Queen consulted the Council of State, which declared itself in support of the proposal. In vain she reasoned with the Marshal, and reminded him of the immense responsibility he took upon himself. To this he assented; but declared that her Majesty might change her

Prime Minister, but she would not make him change his opinion. The Queen yielded, and these officers were allowed to reside wherever they pleased. It is probable that the Marshal reflected, and with reason, that they were less dangerous under his own immediate surveillance, than if they were allowed to spread their opinions and discontent in the Provinces. But his most powerful reason was his repugnance to interfere with the constitutional rights of his countrymen, so long as they merited the protection of the law.

We have observed that the fallen parties, nevertheless, did not remain without hope. They awaited their opportunity and plotted in silence. From Oporto and many other places, the authorities, from time to time, gave notice to the Marshal of the existence of revolutionary Clubs, and of their secret meetings. One of the most important of these communications was from the Marquis de Fronteira, then Civil Governor of Lisbon, dated November 3rd. He writes, that the conspirators are preparing for disorder: that the Septembrists and Miguelites are again resolved to act together: and that they are in combination with the discontented in Spain. He adds, that, with the exception of some of the Chiefs of the Septembrists and their immediate followers, the *exaltados* are mostly republicans; and he urges the Marshal to adopt rigorous measures, by ordering various officers, especially Das Antas and Bomfim, to quit the capital. Again the Marshal refused to employ other measures than those which the Constitution permitted.

Shortly after his arrival at Madrid, the Count de Thomar wrote to the Marshal on the 8th of November. After some observations respecting the unquiet state of Spain and the imprisonment of Bravo (who, it was supposed, had been intriguing for the fall of Narvaez), he writes: "I can assure your Excellency how great is the surprise which is felt here at the tact with which you have known how to prevent a revolution, and to maintain the most profound tranquillity throughout the country, without having recourse to extraordinary measures. May God permit that we may continue to be the envy of others, as we have been, in this respect, up to the present time."

On the 14th, the Count addresses Saldanha with assurances

of his friendship, and of his desire to assist him in overcoming the arduous difficulties of the situation. He laments that the *Estandarte* should continue to promote disorder and discord in the Chartist party: and adds: "Let the Government be firm with certain employés who belong to that faction, and your Excellency will find their wrath decrease. I am sure your Excellency will understand me."

On the 7th of December, the Count de Thomar again writes to the Marshal; and, after thanking him for his ready compliance with certain requests, observes: "I hope that, ere long, all the intrigues of the *Estandarte* respecting my departure will cease. My most loyal and decided support of the Government over which you preside will undeceive those *miserables*, who only seek to effect our ruin! And these men wish to govern the country! How lamentable!"

We have inserted these extracts from the letters of this energetic and talented Statesman, in order to mark the excellent understanding which, up to this period, existed between him and the Marshal. We shall, in the following chapter, have to make allusion to a breach in their friendship which led to some of the most important events in the life of Saldanha.

The Marshal, when he entered the Home Office, made strict inquiries respecting the state of the public lunatic asylum —the Hospital de S. José. He found it in a most deplorable condition. The wretched maniacs were treated with that rigour, which, indeed, was, in private as well as in public establishments, then almost general throughout Europe. At his first visit, he was horrified at seeing a poor wretched lunatic chained to a wall; who, in a filthy and emaciated state, was continually crying out, and with a most piteous voice: "For the love of God, give me a glass of water." His petition was immediately complied with by the Marshal's order; and he was removed to a clean and comfortable cell. The Marshal determined to employ those measures of kindness and conciliation which, he knew, were already adopted, with great success, in some other countries. One of his first steps was to select a more convenient and spacious building for the reception of these unhappy beings. Having formed his plans, he proposed to

her Majesty that the military school should be removed to the royal palace at Mafra; and that the building at Rilhafolles, hitherto occupied by that school, should be devoted to the Asylum. The Queen cheerfully consented; but observed: "You will meet with such opposition that I am sure you will not be able to carry out your wish." Great indeed was the opposition, both from the Director and Professors, as well as from the parents of the cadets. But the Marshal was not to be deterred by difficulties. The change was effected: and, by his care, the Asylum shortly became a model of good management. Saldanha often went to visit his *protégés;* and, on these occasions, they used to flock around him, and call him their benefactor—their father.

The Marshal often assured the author, that, of all the acts of his life, he looked back with the greatest satisfaction to the measures he took for alleviating the sufferings of this unfortunate class of society. At the request of the more intelligent amongst them, his portrait in oil colours was hung up in the Asylum; and the inmates, long afterwards, used to point to it, and bless their benefactor.

CHAPTER IX.

1849—1851.

Opening of the Chambers—Arrival of Thomar—Saldanha attacked in the Cortes—His reply—Honours conferred on him—He desires to resign—His motives for doing so—Illness—Letter to the Queen—Leaves office—New Administration—Correspondence with Tojal—Retires to Cintra—Opinion upon affairs—Fresh honours—Rupture with Thomar—Illegalities of a Constitutional Government—Dismissed from Mordomo Mór and other offices—Letter to the Minister of War—Correspondence with Castilho—Speeches in defence of the liberty of the Press—Unpopularity of the Ministers—Agitated state of the country—The Palace fears a revolution, but supports the Cabinet—Death of Palmella—Question of Alfeite—Generous conduct of Saldanha's friends.

THE Chambers reassembled at the commencement of January. The elections had taken place with, at least, as scrupulous attention to legality as at any time previous; and, we may perhaps add, at any time since this period. A violent opposition to the Ministry was expected, and was not long ere it declared itself. If the author were writing a history of Portugal; or were addressing himself exclusively to the Portuguese; he might dwell on the interminable struggles for power which took place. But he is writing a life of Saldanha; and although many of such details are intimately connected with that life, yet they would of themselves fill many volumes; and he has been compelled to limit himself to two.

The Count de Thomar arrived at Lisbon, and took his seat in the Chamber of Peers. Nothing had hitherto occurred to interrupt the good understanding which, as we have seen in previous Chapters, existed between Saldanha and Thomar. The latter was at the head of a strong and active party, whose object was to bring him and his associates into power. They, not unnaturally, longed to regain those places and appointments from which they were now, to a certain extent, shut out; although

Saldanha endeavoured, during his administration, to confer office upon those of all parties, irrespective of their previous political opinions, who were, by their honesty and talent, best qualified to serve the State. The Marshal was fully aware of the intentions and efforts of the Cabral party; and to prove how little desirous he was to retain office, he wrote, on the 10th of January to the Count de Thomar, declaring; that although he himself would decline to form part of a new administration, should her Majesty call fresh men to her councils, yet he would give to a Chartist Ministry his most decided support in the Chamber of Peers.

Saldanha, on the 23rd, was somewhat coarsely attacked in the Chamber of Deputies; and, being entitled, as a Minister, to be present in either House, he was enabled to reply in person to his accusers; which he did with great dignity and eloquence.*

* The present generation can form but a slight idea of the eloquence which distinguished Saldanha, or of the impression which his speeches made upon his auditors. Tachygraphy is still imperfect in Portugal: the oratory of members is often re-written before it is presented to the public; and the reply appears in the official Parliamentary journal many days previous to the speech which gave rise to it. As the Marshal was not in the habit of revising his speeches, they were printed imperfectly; and, still greater would these imperfections appear, when translated into another language. Nor has the space we have allowed ourselves permitted more than occasional extracts from his manly and flowing eloquence. But, for the reader to imagine how impressive that eloquence was, we cite the following from a writer, who was present on one remarkable occasion.

"It must be confessed that the speech, when read, offers but an imperfect idea of the impression which the noble Duke made upon the House, and upon his audience.

"We wish that every Portuguese could have heard it; that they might have felt as those did who were present.

"The noble peer, Sr. J. A. M. de Sousa Azevedo, enthusiastically exclaimed, in the lobbies of the House, that the Duke de Saldanha was the greatest orator of the Portuguese tribune.

"Not only did an immense number of the members of both Houses congratulate his Excellency at the conclusion of his speech; but many proceeded to his residence for that purpose.

"In addition to the applause which his Excellency received from his own countrymen, he was the admiration of all foreigners who were present.

"The French Minister was heard to exclaim: 'What wonderful eloquence,' . . . 'Never, in any Parliament,' said the Sardinian Minister, 'have I heard an orator to be compared to him.' And Sr. Comyn, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, declared that he had never listened to words which so touchingly affected his feelings."

We should scarcely deem it necessary to refer to this debate were it not to make known the kind of men to be found amongst the Marshal's adversaries, and the principles they held. In reply to the Deputy Antonio da Cunha Sotto Maior, who, having attacked the Marshal, had boldly defied any one to impugn his own political career, Saldanha observed:

"I divide the Deputy's public life into three distinct periods. 1st, the soldier. 2nd, the political writer. 3rd, the Deputy.

"As a soldier, he deserted before the enemy; running away to hide himself in the bosom of his family. He, at that time, belonged to the 11th Regiment of Cavalry, which formed part of the army under my command.

"In the writings which are generally attributed to him, we read, among other amenities, that the path from the Necessidades* to the Caes de Tojo† is a straight line. I know not if th Deputy accepts the phrase as his own. (Sr. Cunha made a sign in the affirmative.) Then, I presume, the expression signifies that the path from the palace of our kings to the gallows is both short and easy: and, it follows as a natural consequence, that the writer of such a phrase is, undoubtedly, in favour of regicide.

"As a Deputy, I am convinced that the electors who gave him their votes; the House of which he is a member; and the country he represents; already do him justice."

The Deputy, amidst great laughter mingled with disgust, replied: "Marshal Saldanha! you asserted a falsehood! I summon you to prove it: not with your words, but with documents. I did not run away. Antonio da Cunha Sotto Maior never ran away in his life. I declare before the Parliament and before the country that I did not run away—I deserted. But what was it you said? That I had run away before the enemy? It is false; most false; twenty thousand times false. I am an honest man, and not a hypocrite. I do not come here to tell falsehoods: there is nothing more horrible to my mind than a lie. Therefore, Marshal Saldanha, I declare that I was in my house, perfectly at my ease, when I went on board the

* The royal residence. † The place where criminals were executed.

French man of war: and my house in the Rua do Poço dos Mouros is not the Camp at Cartaxo. . . . . I did not run away; and where I leave my sword, it is not everybody that would like to go and fetch it."

While such disloyal, even regicide principles were uttered in the Legislature, rebellion again threatened to declare itself openly in the provinces. An intercepted letter from the guerilla chief, Galamba, addressed to an ultra-Septembrist made known that he had re-entered Portugal, and was, once more, prepared to have recourse to arms. But Saldanha, on the present occasion, was not governing Portugal after an absence of six years. He was well acquainted with the condition of the country; and his measures were taken with such prudence and decision, that he neither feared for the safety of the Dynasty nor of the Charter.

Amidst the turmoil of politics, the Marshal, on the 9th of February, was elected a Member of the Lisbon Royal Academy of Science and Literature: and, on the 13th of May following, Pius IX. was pleased to confer on him the Grand Cross of St. Gregory the Great, accompanied by a very flattering letter from the Pontifical Secretary of State, declaring the reasons which had induced his Holiness to do so.

Shortly after this, the Marshal perceived with regret that there were differences of opinion between himself and several members of the Cabinet. In these circumstances, he wrote to the King Consort, expressing his wish to resign; and he recommended that the Duke da Terceira should be called to supply his place. We learn the honest motive of his desire to resign, from a private letter to his colleague, the Baron de Ourem, dated May 24th, in which he declares how much he disapproved of the injustice of the existing laws respecting Notes issued by the Lisbon Bank; and that he would not allow such laws to be countenanced by the credit of his name. On the following day, he again wrote to the King, declaring that he would positively resign, as soon as the Chambers were prorogued, unless such a Ministry was formed as he could conscientiously act in concert with, and one such as circumstances absolutely required. The principles which he desired should guide any fresh ministerial

combination, he embodied in a document which we possess. It is dated, Cintra; and is headed, QUEEN AND CHARTER. The 1st Article regarded the education of the Clergy. The programme is honourable to its author; although, perhaps, it abounds in ideas of rather a Utopian nature: yet, they all denote that his sole aim was to see his country prosperous and happy; and his countrymen united.

But now, the Marshal's health—failing under the continual labours and excitement of the last nineteen months—compelled him to resign the Home Portfolio. Having done so, he hastened to Cintra. From this quiet retreat, he wrote to his wife, on the 1st of June, that he was suffering much pain; but that he hoped, with his good constitution; the fine air of Cintra; and with freedom from business and newspapers, speedily to regain his strength. On the 8th, he wrote to the author, in London, expressing his anxious desire to quit the Cabinet (of which he now held only the Presidency), and to retire with his family to Paris. But the Queen, having been unable to reconstruct her Ministry, insisted that he should again assume the arduous duties of the Home Department. This, on the 15th of June, he was compelled, very unwillingly, to do: but his tenure of office was of short duration; for the Baron de Ourem having determined to send in his resignation, Saldanha, at once, addressed the following letter to the Queen.

"*June 16th*, 1849.

"SENHORA,

"Having received a letter from Baron de Ourem, in which he charged me to beg of your Majesty to exonerate him from the posts of Minister of War and Marine, and of Adjutant-General of the army; I went to his house, and endeavoured, by every means in my power, during two hours, to convince him of the desirability of his continuance in office: but my efforts were fruitless.

"In the peculiar position in which so many circumstances have placed me, it is absolutely impossible, that I should continue in the Ministry, if Baron de Ourem leaves it: and, equally so, should the Marquis de Fronteira cease to command the national

battalions. I trust, therefore, that your Majesty will be pleased to permit me to retire from the Ministry.

"The great kindness with which your Majesty has treated me will excuse my reminding your Majesty of an opinion which, yesterday, you did me the honour to express more than once: namely, that no man was indispensable. This principle, I myself sustained in January; when, during so many hours, I begged to be dismissed. Would that my resolution, at that time, had been as firm as it now is: for I should then have been spared one of the greatest vexations I have ever suffered.

"Filled with the most profound gratitude for the great and numerous proofs of your Majesty's kindness, received during the period I have had the honour of presiding over the Council of Ministers, I kiss respectfully your Majesty's hand, and that of his Majesty the King.

"SALDANHA."

To so positive a desire to resign, the Queen could not but accede: and, on the 18th, her Majesty signed the Decree exonerating the Marshal from the Premiership. There was much speculation on the cause of his retirement, as the Ministry was supported by a majority in the Cortes. It appears, however, by his letter to the Queen, that Saldanha was not singular in his wish to resign: for, not only Baron de Ourem, but also the Marquis de Fronteira had declared his determination no longer to hold his appointment. The reader would tire to hear of the intrigues, both inside and out of the palace, which were supposed to have led to these resignations. The honest intentions of Saldanha, amidst the corruption of the times, were unsuited for use: his principles were more adapted for the commonwealth of Plato than to control the venal supporters of modern government.

During his Administration, Saldanha, on one occasion, adopted an unusual method of replying to an impertinent diplomatist. The French Government was represented at Lisbon by M. * * * * * * * * *. This gentleman having addressed a Note, couched in somewhat offensive terms, to Saldanha at the Foreign Office, the Marshal did not condescend to give it a

reply. But he sent the Note to Paris, with instructions to the Portuguese Envoy to lay it before the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to ask him what answer such a Note merited. The reply consisted in the recal of the diplomatist from Lisbon.

On Saldanha's retirement from office, the following Ministry was formed :—

President and Home . . .	COUNT DE THOMAR.
Justice	FELIX PEREIRA DE MAGALHÃES.
Finance	ANTONIO JOSÉ DE AVILA.
War	A. M. G. FERRERI.
Marine	VISCOUNT DE CASTELLÕES.
Foreign	COUNT DO TOJAL.

Whether the new Ministry considered itself independent of Saldanha's support, or did not care to deserve it, the Marshal, very shortly, had reason to express his public disapprobation of its principles and conduct. Many employés, *who had received their appointments from Saldanha's Ministry, were immediately dismissed;* and resenting the little consideration which had been shown to himself by these dismissals, as well as the injustice of them, the Marshal did not hesitate to declare his determination not to serve, even in a diplomatic capacity, a Ministry which he could not conscientiously support. He, accordingly, addressed a letter to the Count do Tojal, on the 9th of July, with his resignation of the Legation at Paris, which he still nominally held. Immediately afterwards, he quitted Lisbon for Cintra. In the correspondence which followed, Tojal carefully avoided any definite answer on the subject, until, on the 22nd, Saldanha, having sought him in his own house, elicited from him that the Queen would not consent to his resignation. To this, the Marshal coolly replied, that he should, nevertheless, consider it accepted, even should the Decree of exoneration remain unpublished.

Freed from the toils of office, Saldanha resolved once more to turn his attention to agriculture. On the 18th of July, he wrote to the author and requested him, amongst other enquiries, to ascertain the price of a bull and six milch cows of the best

quality; and he rejoiced that he was now at liberty to enjoy the rest he had so longed for.

The Marshal was at Cintra, whither he had retired for the benefit of cold baths. Thence, on the 26th, he wrote to his wife: "I am quite well. Yesterday I went to dine with their Majesties and the Infanta, D. Isabel, at Pena. Even D. Henriqueta is extremely changed. She spoke to me most kindly and affectionately. They had all been led to believe that I would turn the Queen out; or, at least, that I would turn them all out of the Palace."

From the preceding extract, we may imagine the intrigues which had been going forward, to prejudice the Queen against her late Minister, and to misrepresent his intentions. We shall, ere long, learn the consequences of these intrigues.

In reply to a letter addressed to Saldanha, about this time, beseeching him not to retire from public life, he wrote:

"Union amongst us is our greatest necessity, in order to secure our independence as a nation. . . . . I am willing to support any system which will lead to this end, provided it obtains the complete approval of such men as Franzini; D. Carlos de Mascarenhas; Baron de Chancelleiros; Viscount de Lançada; Count de Lavradio; Marquis de Fronteira; and the Dukes of Palmella and Terceira.* Until then, I do not desire to be interrupted in the literary work I have commenced." †

Still more explicit were the wishes of another correspondent, who wrote: "There is much talk in the provinces of the likelihood of political disturbances. If the noble Duke de Saldanha requires my services, he knows that he may depend on those of his devoted "* * * * * * * * *"

The decree which exonerated Saldanha from his appointment of Minister at Paris was not signed until the 29th of August. It declared that it was made in consequence of his repeated requests (*repetidas instancias*).

Many letters written by the Marshal to the author, up to the close of this year, testify his desire to renounce politics, and devote his time to farming, although continually urged to take

* Men selected from all parties.

† The subject was milch cows, and was addressed to Portuguese farmers. It is in the author's possession.

an active part in opposition to the Ministers when the Chambers should meet in January, 1850.

On the 12th of December, his Majesty, Victor Emanuel, bestowed upon Saldanha the Grand Cross of the Order of SS. Maurizio and Lazaro.

We now reach the period when a strife commenced between the Marshal and that remarkable Statesman the Count de Thomar. The author trusts that the reader has become tolerably acquainted with the character—both private and political—of the former: of the latter, he has no cause to doubt his uprightness in private life; nor his honesty of purpose, and patriotism, as a Statesman. He, undoubtedly, possessed talents which enabled him to govern the country, during several years, to the satisfaction of his Sovereign, until driven from power, in 1846, by a successful revolution. Restored again to office, it must be allowed that, although supported by the Queen and by a powerful party, his name was unpopular. Whether, as has been asserted, he held power by allowing his followers a more than usual exercise of bribery and corruption, we will not venture to affirm. Grave charges of that nature were brought against his Administration; such as, indeed, have been imputed to each successive party in office from the date of the establishment of constitutional government in Portugal down to the present day.* Whatever of truth or

* The reader may recollect the somewhat angry Notes, which, in 1847, passed betwen Marshal Saldanha and Sir Hamilton Seymour respecting the freedom of elections, when that Diplomatist, considered himself justified in offering remonstrances to the Portuguese government for certain assumed illegalities practised by its subordinates. The Marshal asserted, in reply, that never had the elections been conducted with greater freedom. Probably such was the truth; and, certainly, the Marshal believed it to be so. Since that period, the Portuguese have *enjoyed* Constitutional government during thirty-three years: and yet, after each election, voices are raised, both in and out of Parliament, to exclaim against, and prove, the illegal and extraordinary means by which each successive government obtains its majority in the Chamber of Deputies. When the present Parliament assembled, in 1880, one Deputy, Sr. Hintze Ribeiro, complained of the numberless dismissals of *employés*, which had taken place throughout the country for electioneering purposes. A letter is quoted from a high local authority, who wrote: "As I consider that all public *employés* ought to vote with the Government, I hope that you will not fail to do so." If the reader were aware of the infinite

falsehood there was in these and other charges, the voice of the country was against the Minister; the determined support which he received from the Queen rendered her equally unpopular; and both her Crown and her Dynasty were again

number of these *employés*—almost all of which the Government can dismiss or transfer at pleasure—and of their influence, for good or evil, which extends to every village throughout the Kingdom, he will not be surprised at a Government *minority* being almost unknown. Sr. Vaz Preto, in the Chamber of Peers, in this same session of 1880, accuses the Home Minister of the "most detestable corruption and violence;" and he goes so far to assert that: "In a country in which the constituted authorities are the first to trample upon the laws; and when the Constitution has become a dead letter; every citizen is justified in taking the law into his own hands."

We will not trouble the reader with details of this "most detestable corruption and violence" which was declared to have been practised by the Government, in order to ensure a majority at the elections in October 1879; but we beg to offer *one* instance of the means resorted to, which the author thinks will appear a novelty to English electioneering agents.

The electoral law of November 23, 1859, Article 36, declares: "All administrative authorities throughout the Kingdom (*Administradores de Concelho*) are forbidden, under penalty of disqualification from holding public employment during four years, and of a fine of from £11 2*s.* 0*d.* to £111 2*s.* 0*d.*, to appoint constables within fifteen days before the elections." And, by Article 145, the authorities who do not report to the Government any infraction of this law; and those who neglect an immediate inquiry into it; are disqualified from holding any public office during a term of from five to ten years!

The consequences of a breach of this law would appear to be serious; or so heavy a penalty could scarcely be thought necessary. One Deputy informs us (in the session of 1880) that, on the 5th of July, 1879, the local *Administrador* appointed, in the parish of Foscoa, sixty-six constables to do duty in that locality; and that, on the 5th of August following, he added forty-eight more to that number. The reader must not imagine that the quiet parish of Foscoa was in danger of disturbance. We are told, that it is simply a "dodge" employed to punish the refractory electors who refuse to promise their votes to the Government candidate! They *might promise*, as they have the ballot system for their safety; but the advantage derived from that system has never been made manifest, unless it be to enable the elector to take bribes from both parties. The Deputy, Sr. Hintze Ribeiro, asserted, in the presence of the Ministers, that, a short time before the elections, 580 constables were named at Villa Nova de Gaia; 605 at Villa do Conde; and 658 in the Cintra district: "with the object of nullifying their votes in favour of the opposition Candidate." Care was, doubtless, taken, that these wholesale nominations should be made *before* the *fifteen days* which the law, in order to guarantee the independence of the elector, insisted upon; but, as every rule has its exception; so, it appears, that, even within the fifteen days, constables may be appointed under exceptional circumstances. For Sr. Ribeiro ironically

placed in danger. We have already seen how strong was the party which had endeavoured to effect its disloyal purpose, in 1846, until Saldanha came to the rescue on the 6th of October of that year. Now, it was to save the Queen from her own imprudence, that he addressed a letter to her Majesty, on the 15th of December, in which he strongly advised her to dismiss the Count de Thomar, as the only means of preserving the country from the revolution and anarchy which threatened it; and he declared that, by so doing, he had followed the course which his duty and his conscience dictated.

The motives which gave rise to this unpalatable advice were repeated and enforced in the Chamber of Peers, when, on the 12th of January, the Marshal rose, and, in an eloquent speech, called upon the Count de Thomar to clear himself from the accusations which were made against him in the public papers. We will not tire the reader with the debates which immediately followed on this speech, nor with those which it elicited on future occasions. Suffice it to say, that charges and recriminations were made which had better have been left unsaid, and which have long since been buried in oblivion. But a vote adverse to the Government having been given by Saldanha, in the House of Peers, on the 5th of February, a strong measure of retaliation was immediately put into execution by the Minister.

adds: "To complete the measure of liberty and tolerance, some electors, on the very eve of the elections were appointed to do duty as *guardians of their own houses.*" These, of course, could not appear at the urn!

But Sr. Vaz Preto, in the Chamber of Peers, declared that the *Administrador* of Penamacor had actually infringed the law, and had rendered himself liable to its penalties, by compelling 80 electors to take the oath as constables *seven days, only*, before the election! To this, the Minister *triumphantly* replied, that the number was but 75; and that, as the elections were on the 19th of October; and the nominations were made on the 2nd; seventeen days had, in reality, elapsed, instead of fifteen; which rendered the appointments legal. "It is true," he added, "that *the oath was administered some days later;* but the law does not refer to the period of taking the oath, it mentions only the day of nomination."

If the reader will bear in mind, that such are the practices which, in 1880, still require reform, he will more readily understand the reason of the people's discontent in 1851 and in 1870; and the necessity for the bold steps, which, as we shall shortly see, were taken by Saldanha at those epochs.

This step, we have always thought, was unwise; and, although considered expedient at the time, it was unworthy of a Statesman of the Count de Thomar's talent and foresight.

On the 7th of February, a royal decree dismissed the Marshal Duke de Saldanha from the office of Mordomo Mór of the royal palace: an appointment which had ever been considered as granted for life; and as a reward for distinguished services.

In reply to this decree, the Marshal, on the 9th, addressed a long letter to the Queen, in which he proved, by historical precedents, that the office of Mordomo Mór had never been alienated during the life of the Sovereign who conferred it, unless its possessor had been found guilty of having committed some crime; and he observes:

"The Royal letter which I received yesterday, dismissing me from the office of Mordomo Mór, declares that it was motived by 'considerations which were presented to your Majesty.' These considerations tacitly imply an accusation of some offence (*crime*); and only on that account could a proceeding of such importance, which deprives a possessor of his property, be justified. But the sentence is confirmed without a trial: an act totally at variance with justice.

"In these circumstances, I should be wanting in a duty to myself, if, with all due respect to the Throne, I did not raise my voice, and complain bitterly of your Majesty's Counsellors, who, by such an act, as unheard of as it is unjust, have so seriously endeavoured to stain my reputation."

The Marshal concluded his letter with a request that his conduct, if any accusation were made, should be submitted to the decision of a Court Martial.

We do not pretend to discuss the *legality* of the Marshal's dismissal from the high office of Mordomo Mór; suffice it to say, that it was, apparently, the first time since the institution of that office, in the reign of D. Affonso the 2nd, that such a dismissal had been made, unless for some heinous offence. Indeed, we are told that, at one period, it had almost become hereditary in one family. Hence the Marshal's desire that his countrymen, and all Europe, should know what grave offence he had been guilty of to subject him to so unusual a sentence;

and hence his demand, as a soldier, to be tried by a Court Martial; a step which would not be entirely inconsistent with law, in Portugal, where the military are subject to a jurisdiction, in many cases, separate from and independent of the Civil Code. A Court Martial was refused; and Saldanha had no resource but to vindicate himself in the House of Peers.

We cannot avoid begging the reader to compare the very unceremonious language used in dismissing Saldanha; "considerations laid before me;" with that employed when he had been appointed to this high office. We then read:

"In consideration of your distinguished merit, and the important services you have rendered to the Throne and the Constitutional Charter by your extreme valour, honourable conduct, and ability, in your military, as well as in your administrative and diplomatic career; and desirous of affording you the most solemn testimony of the unbounded confidence which I have in your high moral, civil, and religious virtues; and in your adherence and pure loyalty to myself and family, I appoint you to the office of Mordomo Mór in my Royal Household," etc. etc.

If, to prove the great injustice of this dismissal, the many historical proofs which could be given were not sufficient to satisfy the reader that the appointment of Mordomo Mór was made for life, it could with difficulty be imagined that the reward of such signal services to the State, as were Saldanha's, was intended to depend on each change of Ministry—Portugal having, at this time, already seen, since the establishment of constitutional government in 1834, nineteen of such changes! To this argument we may add, that even when the Duke da Terceira (who held the next important office at the Palace—Master of the Horse) drew his sword, in 1837, against the Constitution; against the Parliament; and against the Government; and, being unsuccessful, quitted the country, the question of dismissal from his office had never arisen.

Ere his letter of remonstrance had reached her Majesty, Saldanha received an Official signed by the Count de Thomar, and dated the 9th, in which he is required to state whether his late absence from the sittings of the Contentious Juris-

diction * of the Council of State, of which he is President, were accidental, or likely to be continued.

On this Official, we find written by the Marshal; "Received on the 12th: and my only reply was the following request, which I immediately sent to the letter-box of the Home Office.

"'*February 12th*, 1850.

"'SENHORA,

"'The Duke de Saldanha, with the most profound respect, begs your Majesty to exonerate him from the Office of Councillor of State.

"'E. R. M.†

"'DUQUE DE SALDANHA.'"

On the 15th, the Queen signed a Decree complying with his request.

The persecution against Saldanha did not cease here. For, on the 13th of March, he was dismissed from the post of first Aide-de-Camp to the King Consort, Commander-in-Chief of the army, which appointment he had held from the year 1836: and, on the same day, he was declared, by royal Decree, to be no longer a Member of the Supreme Military Council. A very outspoken letter which the Marshal had addressed to the Minister of War was made the pretence for these dismissals: but, however offensive it was to the Government, the Minister did not dare to proceed by a Court Martial.

Many were the letters of condolence, for so unmerited a fate, which Saldanha received from all parts of the country. One of them may appear almost prophetic. After reminding him of the treatment received by the illustrious Affonso de Albuquerque and others, the writer adds: "Their glorious swords were, nevertheless, not drawn—as was yours—to decide, more than once, the fortune of one who now shows herself so ungrateful. But your soul is superior to such littleness. With a quiet conscience you may survey the course of events. Repentance, sooner or

* Contencioso Administrativo. † E Receberá Mercê. (And will receive favour.)

later, will show itself: and, when the hour comes, you will know how to esteem the excuses which will be proffered."

Amongst those who wrote to the Marshal, at this time, was J. F. de Castilho. Dissatisfied with the failure of constitutional government in his own country, he had sought, in Brazil, to find a more honest development of those liberal principles, for which he had striven in Portugal. In a letter, dated from Rio de Janeiro, on the 13th of April, he thus gives his own views of so-called constitutional government, which we present to the reader with Saldanha's just reply. He writes:

"Here, at this distance, I have lamented the sad series of events which have brought about the complete discredit of the already tottering representative system. As to my opinion, I, who have examined it closely, and who live in a country also called *constitutional*, am fast arriving at the certainty, that, in practice, all this phantasma can only be compared to a stage where tricks of deception and sleight of hand are performed."

To this, Saldanha replied; that if, after comparing the state of their unfortunate country with its condition under the Government of the Usurper, any one still complained of the representative system, it must be remembered that it is not the system itself which is faulty. "Great," adds the Marshal, "is the weakness of human foresight. I thought, when I returned to Portugal in 1846, after five years' absence, completely unconnected with any party and free from political engagements, that I could be of service to my country: but this long absence it was which had kept me in ignorance of the spirit of rapine; of ambition; and of demoralization which had been fostered by misgovernment."

We may lament that these vices are more or less inherent to all countries; whether governed by absolute or democratical principles: but public opinion, when guided by an honest Press, controls, to a certain extent, their excesses. The representative system, however, becomes an illusion when the liberty of the Press is attacked; as it was in Portugal, by a Bill submitted to the Chambers in the month of June of this year. (1850). Saldanha opposed it with his usual enthusiasm. Petitions against the Bill were presented by himself, and by

other Peers, from all parts of the kingdom. He qualified the proposed law as anti-religious; odious; and impolitic: and asserted that it was in direct contradiction to no less than 17 Articles of the Constitutional Code.

These speeches aroused the anger of the Ministers, and the Count de Thomar, in reply, having avowed himself the author of Saldanha's dismissal from his various posts, the Marshal rose, and thanked him most cordially and sincerely for having done so; since it had resulted in his receiving from all parts of the kingdom, and from all classes, so many flattering proofs of friendship and esteem.

To the unpopularity which the Ministers acquired by their attacks on the Press, were brought charges of corruption in their various Departments, where illegal contracts, it was asserted, had been made, greatly detrimental to the finances of the country. The Count de Lavradio and other Peers formally protested against these acts; and the general discontent threatened a revolution. Rebello da Silva, who, in 1869, became a Cabinet Minister, in a letter to the Marshal, took the following view of the state of affairs. "Things present such an appearance all over the kingdom, that the catastrophe we have spoken of draws nigh; and the only remedy I can see is to set aside all unpardonable scruples in view of the gravity of the crisis."

Grave indeed was the position of affairs, and imminent the catastrophe. On the 21st of August, Saldanha wrote to Baron de Ourem:

"The news I have received from the provinces; the events of the Minho; and my own observations during the last few days; have pained me in the extreme: for I perceive that the revolution is advancing with gigantic strides. His Majesty stated before more than one person that the Minho was inspiring much anxiety. The next day, the Chartist paper, the *Jornal do Povo*, announced that the Republic had been proclaimed in Terras do Bouro. It is affirmed, that Ferreira has written to the Government regarding the state of the province; telling them some hard truths; and declaring that he will not answer for the consequences. Yesterday, Mariano de Sousa came here

to inform me that he was going to resign the command of his battalion ; and had brought his family with him. He says that he will not leave Lisbon or Cintra, until the revolution has taken place ; because the Chartists would become the victims of those who succeeded to power. I believe you know Mariano, who is a stanch Chartist, and is considered as the head of his party in Beja. He assures me that three other Chartists will arrive here in a few days : that they would have nothing to do with the *ultras ;* but that they did not care to be the victims of the dishonesty of the Cabral authorities who rob right and left. . . . M. M. Coutinho, Civil Governor of Evora, is in Lisbon upon leave. When it expires, he says he shall apply for its renewal ; and, if refused, he shall send in his resignation. For he does not feel disposed to allow himself to be sacrificed by the people during the fever of the revolution which is imminent.

" Baron de Resende says that the state of the Alemtejo is horrible, and a revolution certain : that there are no means of averting it : and that even the army is discontented. The people on the banks of the Mondego and the Douro have only been kept quiet, as you know, by your and my influence. We are also both convinced that, if in any one place there is a rising, the example will be immediately followed, and the movement will become general : and that if, by prompt and decisive measures, that rising is not prevented, its consequences will be fatal. The Queen does not see the position she is in. The Government ; the Duke da Terceira ; and the Marquis de Fronteira are each moment more obstinate. Who will be able to save the Queen, and, perhaps, the Dynasty, if a popular revolution breaks out ? God help me ! In view of all that is passing around us, I begin to feel scruples as to my inaction. For these reasons, I regret the infamous manner in which the Government has treated me. Were it not for that, I should not hesitate ; but, at once, would take the field to save the Queen, her dynasty, and the Chartist party. But are my scruples just ?

" My dear friend. After many hours of serious reflection I believe that it is our duty to remain quiet as we have

hitherto done, while the country continues in passive obedience to the Government; but, the moment a popular movement is manifested, the true friends of the Queen, the dynasty, and the Charter ought immediately to employ the most efficacious means to save the Throne and the nation, by compelling the Cabinet to resign.

"Make what use you please of this letter: and may God inspire you and our friends with the means of avoiding the abyss which threatens to engulph us. Yours, etc.

"SALDANHA."

Ourem's answer confirmed these views; and he concluded his letter with the Marshal's own exclamation: "God help us."

But although the Queen and her royal consort were, apparently, ignorant of the ominous state of affairs, the Ministers were not so. On the night of Sunday, September 15th, by order of his Majesty, the commanding officers of various regiments were called to the palace; and were informed by the King that the Government had received information from trustworthy sources that a military revolution was expected to break out on the following day; and that the Barons de Ourem, de Francos, and da Mesquita had been denounced as the leaders of the projected movement. He, therefore, called upon each one present to declare his sentiments; in order that her Majesty, the Queen, might know on whom she could rely.

Baron de Ourem spoke first, and alleged his unswerving fidelity to the Queen and Charter; but he frankly declared his dislike to the present Cabinet—a dislike which he could not consider in the light of a crime. The others spoke in similar terms; and all three united in requesting to be exonerated from the command of their respective regiments. At the close of the interview, his Majesty declared himself satisfied with the explanations made by these officers, who, with the exception of Ourem, then took their leave. The latter, at the King's request, accompanied his Majesty to his private room, where the conversation was renewed. Ourem frankly told his Majesty that it was much to be regretted that the Queen had not learnt how objectionable was the present Administration; for,

by persisting in keeping it in power, she was leading the country into incalculable disasters. He reminded his Majesty of the services which Francos and Mesquita, and he himself had rendered to the royal cause; remarking, that when the Marquis de Fronteira sided with the Septembrists; and when, in 1837, Costa Cabral was acting with Bomfim, he (Ourem) was fighting for the cause of Queen and Charter at Chão da Feira. He frankly declared that he was opposed to the Ministers, because he foresaw that they were leading the country into a Civil War; and because they endeavoured by every means in their power to prejudice their Majesties against their most loyal subjects. He argued, that without having committed any crime, Marshal Saldanha, Fonte Nova, and several other brave officers had fallen victims to their intrigues: and that, if their Majesties listened to the falsehoods of the secret police, the number of victims would increase to such an extent, that a revolution might take place which would be fatal to the Crown, or force their Majesties to witness a humiliating defeat.

On leaving the royal apartments, Ourem was met by the Duke da Terceira, who was awaiting his departure. Although favourable to the party in power, the Duke lamented much that they had done; and he assured Ourem, that were it not to save himself from the reproach of a fear to encounter the dangers of the crisis, he would have requested to be exonerated from the command he held.

It is said that the Ministers themselves felt the danger of their position: and, in a letter before us, we read that the ex-Empress—widow of D. Pedro—and some of the Corps Diplomatique, had endeavoured to bring about a change of government. It was thought that the presence and counsels of Sir Hamilton Seymour, who was shortly expected at Lisbon, might have great influence with the Queen: and, as if in anticipation of his dismissal from office, it was reported that the Count de Thomar had expressed a desire to resign; and to retire to his property at Thomar.

Portugal, during this year, had to regret the loss of one of her most distinguished statesmen—the Duke de Palmella. He

was born in Turin on the 8th of May, 1781; and died at Lisbon on the 12th of October, 1850. Saldanha was called upon, by the Palmella family, to hold one of the handles of the coffin which bore the remains of his old friend, but, occasionally, political opponent, to their last resting place in the Lisbon cemetery of Prazeres.

Although the country, from end to end, was indignant against the arbitrary measures of the Government, Saldanha, by his influence, was able to prevent an outbreak. He hoped that the eyes of the Queen would be opened to her dangerous situation, and the misfortune of a revolution be averted.

A circumstance took place about this time which led to some very acrimonious language in the House of Peers between Saldanha and Thomar. The Minister had obtained from the Crown a long lease for property situated at Alfeite, on the opposite side of the Tagus. This contract gave rise to many severe comments in the Press. Complaints were made, not only that the rent to be paid was much below the value of the property, but that the transaction was, in itself, illegal. On the 22nd of March, 1851, Count de Lavradio brought the subject before the House of Peers: not, as he asserted, from any personal feeling against the Minister, but because such a contract was illegal and contrary to the articles of the Charter.

During the debate on this question, the Marshal declared that he himself, on the 23rd of February of the previous year, had obtained a lease of some land (for a similar term of years) from the administrator of the Crown property: and, he significantly observed, that the lease had been granted eight months and five days after he had quitted the Ministry. The rent had been legally estimated; and at a higher valuation than that calculated on the receipts of former years. At this period, he observed, he had almost retired from public life, and was desirous of trying experiments for the improvement of agriculture. It was not, said the Marshal, the desire of gain which had led him to rent, with very onerous conditions, a few acres of land, reduced by long neglect to a miserable state. He had laid out considerable sums in repairs and improvements during the year; but as soon as he was aware that there was a doubt

as to the legality of the lease—which he did not believe—he had immediately offered to resign it.

On the 26th, the Count de Thomar defended, at considerable length, both the legality of his contract, and the fairness of the terms of the lease. We have nothing to do with the arguments employed; nor with the somewhat bitter language made use of; except so far as it led to the following observations from Saldanha, and to his narration of an interesting fact.

"I am poor in fortune," said the Marshal, "but I am rich in friends. On the 18th of December, 1849, the Count de Thomar had declared mortal war to me. Two months later, I was dismissed from all the appointments I held. A few days afterwards, Srs. F. A. F. da Silva Ferrão and A. T. de Almeida came to my house, and begged to be allowed to say, in the name of some of my friends, that Sr. Almeida was charged by them to place in my hands, every month, an equivalent to the amount of which I had been deprived by my dismissal from the appointments of Mordomo Mór; of first Aide-de-Camp to the King; and Member of the Supreme Military Council. One condition was attached to this generous offer, to which I submitted with reluctance. It was, that I should take no steps to ascertain the names of those who so nobly contributed. From that day, on the 1st of every month, Sr. Almeida presents me with £82. And, Sr. President, I am proud of this fact: because I am not ashamed to declare, at the close of my long career, that I am poor. By this, the Minister may become aware how it is that I have been able to leave untouched ten months' pay without dying of hunger. By this, the House and my country may learn for what purpose, in my little property at Cintra, I am opening a path, leading to the highest spot on those hills which belong to me, in order thereon to gratefully erect a temple to Friendship."

The reader who, in these volumes, has followed the varied fortunes of João Carlos de Saldanha will not fail to have observed the importance of the part he took in placing his Sovereign upon the throne: so important indeed, that, although we would be unwilling to deprive others of the minor share they had in the expulsion of D. Miguel from Portugal, it is

acknowledged by all, that *without* a Saldanha, that event would never have taken place. For who but he, with so inferior a force, would have defeated Bourmont before Oporto; Macdonell before Lisbon; and, after conquering the Miguelites at Almoster, have compelled them to evacuate the stronghold of Santarem, and capitulate at Evora Monte? In 1846, he was able effectually to resist the united forces of two powerful parties, in arms to dethrone the Queen—the Miguelites and the ultra-liberals. What would have been the fate of the Dynasty had not Saldanha been the victor at Torres Vedras? Few readers can appreciate the difficulties and dangers of the situation on each occasion. And now, the Marshal, seeing that an exasperated population was eager to take up arms—whether against Queen, or Minister, or both—determined on those important and hazardous steps which we shall narrate in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER X.

1851.

General discontent—Das Antas proposes a revolution—Saldanha's reply—Letter from Das Antas—Saldanha takes the field—His Circular and letter to Terceira—The King-Consort marches against him—Saldanha's letter to his wife—His movements—Threatened movement of the ultra-party—His resolution in consequence—Events at Oporto—The King-Consort returns to Lisbon—Saldanha universally supported—Great intrigues at the Palace—Correspondence—Sr. Herculano—Saldanha's Circular—Important letter from the Queen—Saldanha's reply—Restored to former appointments—Gracious terms of Decree—Congratulatory correspondence—Warned of intrigues—Letters from Das Antas and Reis e Vasconcellos—Herculano—Saldanha's powerful position—And abnegation—Letter from Reis e Vasconcellos—Queen's letter to Saldanha—Sir H. Seymour to the Marshal—Reply—Proclamation—Arrival in the Tagus—Enthusiastic reception—He forms an Administration.

AN insurrection appeared imminent. There were many, at this time, who pretended that a plot was in contrivance by the Minister, and approved of by the Court, to declare the Queen absolute. But, from whatever cause, discontent had become very general; and Saldanha was now convinced that only some strong, and even violent measure could preserve the Queen herself from the danger of falling, in one common ruin, with the Ministry which she appeared so determined to support.

On the 4th of March, 1851,—that being the anniversary of Saldanha's victory over the Miguelites, at Oporto, in 1833,—the Count das Antas with many other generals and officers paid their customary visit at the Marshal's residence. Das Antas, taking the Marshal aside, observed; that he had selected the anniversary of that glorious day for the purpose of making a private communication to him, in order that his visit should not create suspicion, or be attributed to any political motive.

He then laid before him the discontented and excited state of the country; which he ascribed entirely to the presence of the Count de Thomar in the Ministry. He added; that, under these circumstances, every measure was prepared for a revolution, which was appointed to take place in the following May; on the anniversary of that one which, in 1846, had driven the Cabral party from power: that he was charged by the Progressistas to beg him to accept the direction of the movement: and that the entire party bound itself, without any conditions, to submit entirely to the Marshal's guidance and determination.

The Marshal, in reply, begged Das Antas to transmit his thanks to those whom he represented; but that he could not accede to their proposal: and, he frankly added, that he would do all in his power to prevent the insurrectionary movement. Das Antas, with astonishment, exclaimed: "I can well understand your refusal; but I must tell you, that even were you capable of having me arrested—which I am sure you are not—you would only hasten the movement." "No," replied Saldanha; "though I have no such intention, I will not allow *your* revolution to take place; as I intend to make one myself. In the state of irritation in which the country now is, a democratic movement might lead not only to the expulsion of the Queen, but, probably, to the overthrow of her Dynasty." "That is true," said the Count; "but can you still feel an interest for a woman who has been guilty of such base ingratitude towards yourself?" Declaring that he had never allowed himself to be guided by personal considerations, Saldanha convinced Das Antas how unfortunate would become the situation of Portugal, if the followers of two claimants to the throne—Maria and Miguel—were in the field against whatever Government a revolution might establish. He drew his attention to the present state of public opinion, and to the songs, insulting to the Queen, which were heard in the streets and taverns; and he asked him to reflect how fatal to her might be the consequence, if there were a popular outbreak. "And would you still care for this," repeated Das Antas, "after the way she has treated you? What harm would it do you to be Regent during a minority?" "Senhor Conde," replied Saldanha with emphasis; "Both for

the love I feel towards her Majesty and for my country, I would avoid the calamities which would follow the expulsion of the Queen."

Saldanha projected a bold and hazardous undertaking. He might have had the active support of the whole Progressista party; but for the reasons given, and many others, he refused their aid; and prevailed upon Das Antas to pledge himself that they would remain quiet. Nevertheless, as the time approached when Das Antas was aware that Saldanha was about to take the field, and raise the standard in the name of the "Queen and Charter," he wrote to him, on the 5th of April, the following letter.

"MUCH ESTEEMED GENERAL AND FRIEND,

"The decisive moment has arrived in which, to save the country, you are about to war with the infamous party which has enslaved and demoralized it. Deeply feeling the powerful political reasons which prevent me joining you in the dangers of this honourable crusade, I offer my most sincere prayers for the triumph of so sacred a Cause.

"If, however, our hopes fail; and you are unable to gather sufficient force to quickly put an end to the strife; tell me so with frankness, and you will immediately see your ranks augmented by myself and by thousands who will, unconditionally, risk their lives and every thing that is dear to them.

"I am, etc.

"CONDE DAS ANTAS."

In refusing the aid of so powerful a party, the reader may imagine that Saldanha had been taking secret measures to ensure that his call would be immediately responded to by the army and the country; and that he had despatched trusty emissaries to the provinces to gain over, by money and promises, the authorities and the troops. But he was no conspirator; and money he had none: he trusted entirely to the justice of the cause in which he was enlisted; the love of his fellow countrymen; and the respect they had for the principles he advocated.

On the 7th of April, 1851, the Marshal Saldanha, accompanied by his only son, and his nephew, D. Francisco de Almeida, with two Orderlies, quietly rode out of Lisbon on their patriotic errand; one which savoured more of the romance and chivalry of by-gone ages than of the XIX. Century; and took the road to Cintra. "On the following morning," wrote Saldanha, "I left my house with five naughty boys (rapazes travessos) as the newspapers were pleased to call them." To the two already mentioned, we subjoin the names of the three others who left Cintra with the Marshal: Count da Fonte Nova; Salvador Pinto da França; and Pedro Paulo de Sousa.

From Cintra, the Marshal, in a Circular addressed to all generals holding commands, called on them to assist in saving the Queen and the Charter from the dangers which menaced them. He then proceeded towards Coimbra; the inhabitants of which, immediately on his entry, on the 12th, declared themselves in favour of the movement.

As we have before us little but the government accounts of the support Saldanha met with during his progress northwards, we have no certainty of their truth; and must, therefore, leave the reader to judge of the popularity of the movement by its result.

From Leiria, on the 11th, Saldanha had addressed a letter to the Duke da Terceira, urging him not to risk the safety of the Queen and Dynasty by endeavouring to support an unpopular Ministry. But the Government having insisted that the King Consort, as Commander-in-Chief, should place himself at the head of the garrison of Lisbon and march against Saldanha, Terceira was persuaded, or felt it his duty, to accompany his Majesty on this errand. It is said; that when the King Consort embarked at the Arsenal, on the 9th, to proceed to Santarem, many of the soldiers were heard to exclaim; that nothing would compel them to fight against "their old Marshal."

When this step on the part of the King was resolved on, we are told that the representatives of England, France, and Russia, went to the palace and remonstrated with the Queen on its imprudence. For they foresaw the fatal consequences

which would ensue should the King draw his sword in vain to defend a Minister, against whose administration the country was now, for a second time, about to rise.

When the King Consort arrived at Santarem, on the 10th, the chief civic authority of that town presented himself to his Majesty, and frankly observed: "I know the Duke de Saldanha; and I am certain that he is incapable of putting himself at the head of any movement other than to secure the safety of the throne, and for the benefit of the country; and as I cannot serve against him, I beg respectfully to send in my resignation."

No sooner had his Majesty reached Coimbra, on the 21st, than the Viscount de Fonte Boa waited on him, and urged the necessity for a change of Ministry. We are told that the King immediately wrote to the Queen, strongly declaring that such was his own opinion: but, unfortunately, his prudent advice was unattended to.

Saldanha had quitted Coimbra on the 14th, accompanied by the 5th Caçadores and some cavalry. On the 17th, he wrote from Vouzella to the Duchess.

"MY DEAR WIFE,

"All that the generals of the Count de Thomar can do is to fly before me at the distance of ten or twelve leagues. Yesterday, the Brigades, 9 and 14, uttered cries of *Viva* for me; and the Commandant led them towards Castro Daire, under the pretence that I was there. But hearing that the Count de Sta Maria occupied it, he marched on Lamego. We are received every where in a manner which it is impossible to describe: and the people are ready to take up arms should I deem it necessary. . . . . We are all well and cheerful; and I am persuaded that my undertaking will soon be brought to a successful end.

"Truly yours,

"SALDANHA."

Oporto had not, as yet, answered to Saldanha's appeal. The Civil Governor issued a proclamation against the movement;

and the chief military authority, the Count do Casal, on the 11th, replied in a private letter to the Marshal, that, notwithstanding the affection and consideration he entertained for him personally, he felt himself compelled to obey the orders of the Government from which he had received his appointment.

After leaving Coimbra, Saldanha marched northwards, and reached Costa on the 23rd. And now the fears which he had entertained of a popular insurrectionary movement appeared about to be realized. For the extreme ultra-party had become impatient of delay; and threatened to rise when they saw the King identifying himself, as it were, with the unpopular Ministry. From a letter addressed to D. Pedro V. at a subsequent period, we extract the following which shows the dilemma in which Saldanha now found himself. He wrote:

"The night I was at Costa, there was, at Guedes' house, a meeting of 17 of the popular leaders of the Minho, Beira, and Traz-os-Montes; and if Providence had not allowed success to the efforts of Ximenes and Salvador at Oporto, there would, in ten days, have been a general insurrection throughout the country; which I should have been very unwilling to direct; and the consequences of which no one could foretell. For this reason, and for no other, did I cross the frontier into Spain: for I would never lend my name to an insurrection, the result of which, I knew, would be the expulsion of D. Maria II. from Portugal. At that time, I did more for the Queen and her august family than I would have done for my own wife, and for my only daughter. For them, I would expose my life: but, on that occasion, I risked the loss of all for which I have constantly struggled: that is, to possess, in the pages of the history of my country, an honoured name. If success had not attended my hazardous enterprise, who would not have concluded that, instead of being undertaken to serve the Queen, it had been to revenge myself for the injuries I had received."

But the threatened movement of the ultra party did not take place: for, long before the expiration of the ten days, Saldanha was received with acclamations in Oporto, and the safety of the Queen and of her throne was ensured.

The following is the official account of the events which took place at Oporto.

"On the night of the 24th of April, five sergeants of the 9th Caçadores, and the Commandant of the Municipal Guard, Major Sobral, were arrested on suspicion. This measure produced great agitation amongst the troops. Towards 10 o'clock on the following morning, some shots were fired at the S. Ovidio barracks; and considerable enthusiasm was manifested for the expected demonstrations. Some soldiers of the 9th Caçadores gave *Vivas* for the Marshal Saldanha; and invited those of the 2nd Infantry to declare themselves in his favour. At this time, Colonel Meirelles, accompanied by a Major and a Captain, desirous of quelling the revolt, came forward and fired their pistols at the soldiers. These replied with a volley which killed the Colonel and wounded his companions. The two Corps then proceeded to the *Campo*, taking with them two pieces of artillery, and giving *Vivas* for the Duke de Saldanha, and *Morras* for the Count de Thomar.

"While this was going forward, General Count do Casal with the 6th Cavalry arrived at the Carmo (barracks of the Municipal Guard); but being badly received by that Corps, which showed signs of revolt, he proceeded to the *Torre da Marca* barracks, where his cavalry was joined by the 6th Infantry. With this force, he reached the *Campo;* and there ordered Colonel José Maria da Fonseca Moniz, with two Companies, to fire on the revolters. This order, the Colonel refused to obey. The General, thereupon, returned with his cavalry to the barracks, where he found a company of sharpshooters whose voices were raised in favour of the Duke de Saldanha, and were responded to by their Colonel and the whole Corps. The Count at once left the spot; but the cavalry joined the other Corps; and, together with the Municipal Guard, marched to the *Relação* in order to let loose those soldiers who had been imprisoned on the previous night. Couriers were despatched in various directions; and, especially, to the Marshal, who was in the neighbourhood of Penafiel.* The

* We believe that he was at this moment at, or near, Braga.

Civil Governor fled; and was substituted by Sr. José Lourenço Pinto. Colonel Moniz assumed, *ad interim*, the command of the 3rd Military Division." These authorities immediately issued proclamations, congratulating the people upon the recent events; and, on the 26th, a Council was established to act until the Marshal should arrive.

The King Consort had entered Coimbra on the 21st, and established his Head Quarters in that city, where he remained until the 28th. Learning what had taken place at Oporto, he determined on returning to Lisbon with the force under his command. But when, on that day, orders to prepare for departure were given, crowds of people, with many soldiers, and the students of the University, uttered *Vivas* for the Duke de Saldanha, which were responded to by the Grenadiers who were assembling. The enthusiasm for Saldanha rapidly spread amongst the troops, the greater part of whom declared their adherence to the movement; whilst the King, fearing that their example might be followed by the small remainder of his force, hastened his departure towards Lisbon, where he arrived on the 5th of May.

Almost simultaneous with the rising at Oporto; Braga, Valencia, Vianna, and many other chief cities declared for Saldanha. The Marshal entered Oporto on the 27th. On the following day, he wrote to the Duke da Terceira, begging him to make known most respectfully to her Majesty, that it was not to prepare the way for the return to power of the Count de Thomar in six months, or in a year, that he had drawn his sword. After this, he addressed the troops in the *Campo da Regeneração*, declaring his firm determination to support the Queen and Charter against every opponent.

As soon as the occurrences at Oporto were known at Lisbon, the Queen called upon the Duke da Terceira to form a Ministry. It is said that Das Antas was also consulted; and that he bluntly replied, that there was but one man to call; and that one was Saldanha.

On the 29th, the Count de Thomar left Lisbon in the Montrose Steamer for Vigo; from whence, on the 1st of May, he addressed a long letter to Saldanha; respecting which we

need only remark, that it was written with very angry feelings, and under very erroneous impressions.

The Queen, without consulting the Marshal, signed a Decree, on the 1st of May, appointing him Prime Minister, with the Portfolio of the Home Office, which Viscount da Luz consented to hold *ad interim*.

We may here observe, that the garrison and the entire population of Lisbon—and, indeed, of every place throughout the country—unhesitatingly adhered to the movement inaugurated by Saldanha. What stronger proof could be afforded for the necessity of his bold step?

Numerous were the letters of congratulation which the Marshal received, at this time, from his friends; and from the municipal bodies and the civil authorities from all parts of Portugal.

Although for the most part, his correspondents appeared to unite with him in loyalty to the Queen, one of them—a Member of the Upper House—who wrote as soon as the success at Oporto was known, seemed to entertain the hope that Saldanha's first step would be to expel the Queen from the throne, and to assume himself the Regency, during the minority of her eldest son. He writes: "Your Excellency must know that the Palace has not renounced its one fixed idea: when power is wanting, it uses deceit. The spirit of the Count de Thomar still flutters in the saloons of the Necessidades; and his voice still sounds, like sweet music, in the ears of the Queen!" Referring to the attempts which were being made to form a Ministry, the writer continues: "The Duke da Terceira, who is expected here every moment, was proposed; but this automaton, without a will of his own; and without energy; was thought of in the hope—or rather with the certainty—that he would passively submit himself to the will of his royal mistress, which, without doubt, is still that of the Count de Thomar."

The writer then expresses his opinion that the Court already meditates the restoration of the Count de Thomar; and adds his hope, that the Marshal, *with the assistance of his friends*, will frustrate its schemes. With respect to the unwise step which the King took in marching to Coimbra, he declares that

the odium does not fall so much upon him, as upon those whose counsel he followed. This correspondent was careful not to censure the King Consort: as he well knew that Saldanha would lend no ear to aught against one whom he so much loved and esteemed. But his disloyal desires, with respect to the Queen, were sufficiently apparent, when he launched forth on the high qualities and good sense of the youthful heir to the crown. For he was one of that party whose enmity to his Sovereign was only to be satisfied by her abdication: and he imagined that, by inspiring Saldanha with the idea that the misfortunes of the country would be healed by calling to the throne a young and pliable prince, with himself as Regent during the minority, he would induce the Marshal, from plausible motives of patriotism, to commit an act which his ambition would never have suggested. With this view, he wrote: "The Prince Royal * is the object of general sympathy. Many anecdotes are current which render him extremely popular. Very sensible observations are attributed to him with respect to the going out of his father; and which are said to have brought on him severe maternal scoldings." The writer concluded by observing, that a Dictatorship becomes often necessary, when some great blow (*grande golpe*) is to be struck. In a subsequent letter, he reminds the Marshal of the words spoken by Napoleon: "'We have taken the Tuileries' said he to the generals who ascended the steps of the royal palace, 'now we must take care never to leave it.'"

Sr. Herculano, a writer who enjoys, as an historian, some reputation in Portugal, was one of those who hastened to offer his advice, and to warn the Marshal against a too ready belief in the sincerity of those who surrounded him. He wished that he could place the Marshal in some hidden spot, where he could overhear the men of whose good faith and honour he appeared so satisfied. Herculano conjured him to take advantage of the immense popularity which he, at this moment, possessed; and he suggested the names of those whom he

* This Prince, who became D. Pedro V., was now in his 14th year.

thought would form a Ministry acceptable to the country. They were the following:—

SALDANHA	*Commander-in-Chief.*
LAVRADIO	*President and Foreign Affairs.*
RODRIGO DA FONSECA MAGALHÃES .	*Home.*
JOSÉ MARIA GRANDE	*Marine and Colonies.*
FRANZINI	*Finance.*
FERRÃO	*Justice.*
———	*War.*

He proposed Reis e Vasconcellos as Civil Governor of Lisbon; and Baron de Francos as Commandant of the Municipal troops.

After the usual common places respecting economy, justice, and public instruction, Herculano concludes, with apparent despair at the suggestion: "And an educated priesthood. Oh my God! Help us!"

But the Marshal did not need the counsels of these gentleman; nor of the many others who were ready with their advice. His honest intentions were soon declared in the following Circular which he addressed to all the Civil Governors of the Kingdom.

"HEAD QUARTERS AT OPORTO.
"*April 29th*, 1851.

"ILL^MO E EX^MO S^R,

"The national voice, openly proclaimed by me, having found an echo in every corner of the country, it becomes my duty to acquaint the Nation with the principles which governed, and will continue to govern my proceedings. In the name of her Majesty the Queen, I desire you will make known to the inhabitants of your district that my loyal and patriotic object is to strengthen the Throne of H. M. F. M. Queen D. Maria II., and to guarantee the liberties accorded by the Charter; with such reforms as experience has shown are required to secure those liberties from being crushed, as they have hitherto been, under the shadow of that Charter. The first step towards this result is, undoubtedly, the fall of Count de Thomar's Cabinet; and to annul the political influence he has acquired through those members of the majority in both Chambers who blindly supported his Administration.*

* We may again refer to some of the electioneering means by which each successive Ministry, in Portugal, seems always to have a majority at its command.

"The morality of the people depends, most assuredly, on the morality of the Government, which must be manifested from the Minister downwards to the most subordinate authorities. That fatal system of favouritism and corruption, which, up to the present time, has prevailed in every branch of Government, must now cease once and for ever.

"The system of exclusion must also cease. The principle promulgated in the Charter; that 'all are fitted to hold public employments without other qualification than their personal merit;' and that, 'all Portuguese citizens are equal in the eyes of the law,' must no longer be an illusion. The distinction of political colours should be ignored by the Government of the country: the unworthy of every party should be disregarded; and the upright considered and respected. The Government represents the Nation—the whole Portuguese people—and all parties ought to be governed with impartiality and justice: nor ought any one of them to hold the reins of power to the exclusion of all others.

"It is urgently necessary that the freedom of election should be so guaranteed, that the expression of public opinion may be a reality. When this result is obtained, justice and morality will, undoubtedly, have their source in the legislative body; and such measures will spring from it, as will benefit the country with those material improvements which it so urgently requires and deserves.

"Liberty united with order, justice, and morality is indispensable: and it is to obtain this result that I request the co-operation of all honest Portuguese.

"God preserve your Excellency.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

We can readily imagine the anxiety felt in the royal palace at Lisbon, until it was made evident to what use Saldanha would put his giant power. Before a copy of the Circular had reached the Queen, she wrote, on the 1st of May, the following letter, which was presented to the Marshal, at Oporto, by Sr. Reis e Vasconcellos.

"I do justice to the sentiments of Marshal Saldanha, when I

state my belief, that he is incapable of taking advantage of the situation in which he finds himself. I have faith in his honour, and in his honourable feelings as a soldier and a gentleman; and I fully confide, to the General and Friend of my father, the future of this country and of the Crown. I beg you to come immediately to Lisbon; and you will find me firmly resolved to give you my entire support in eradicating every abuse; in order that the constitutional system shall not be sophisticated; and that my name may never be made use of to cover injustice. It is in your hands to prevent the enemies of the Monarchy reckoning as their triumph that which ought only to be the victory of reason and morality. This is what I hope for from the Duke de Saldanha.

"MARIA."

Accompanying this letter was an official communication, signed by the Ministers Franzini, Francos, and Luz, (provisionally appointed) which set forth that her Majesty, by the advice of the Duke da Terceira, had resolved to call upon Marshal Saldanha as the only person competent to form a government; and that, for this purpose, his presence was anxiously expected in the Capital. The Decree of Saldanha's nomination, as Prime Minister, was, at the same time, taken to him by Sr. Reis.

In reply to the Queen's letter, Saldanha immediately wrote as follows.

"OPORTO, *May 4th.*

"SENHORA,

"Whatever may have been your Majesty's opinion respecting my recent conduct, I feel intimately convinced that all the services united, which I have, at different periods, had the honour and good fortune to render your Majesty, do not equal the service I have now done you. I trust that your Majesty will give credit to my conviction—based upon the perfect knowledge I have of the state of the country—that, without this last service, not only your Majesty's Throne, but even your Dynasty would, ere long, have disappeared from Portugal.

"From the Councillor José Joaquim dos Reis e Vasconcellos,

I received the letter your Majesty did me the honour to write to me. A thousand times I kiss your Majesty's hand for your just appreciation of my sentiments. But, the friend and General of your august father did not need the expressions with which your Majesty honours him, to retain him in the path he has always followed, and will always follow. If your Majesty will be pleased to cast your eyes over the accompanying copy of a Circular which I addressed, on the 29th of last month, to the administrative authorities; and which has been printed and published; you will see that my loyal, sincere, and patriotic object is to consolidate your Majesty's Throne; and to guarantee the liberties accorded by the Charter, with such reforms as experience has shown are required to secure those liberties from being crushed, as they have hitherto been, under the shadow of that Charter.

"Great, very great, have been the difficulties I have had to overcome. Sr. Reis e Vasconcellos will be able to give your Majesty some idea of them. Willingly would I hasten to the steps of your Majesty's Throne; but the service of my Queen and my country render it imperative that I should not appear in the Capital unless accompanied by a military force, sufficient to prevent my having to make terms with any political party which might seek to dictate them. For this reason, I believe it would be advisable that some of the English and French war steamers should offer to conduct a part of the troops now assembled in this city; the remainder of which ought to commence their march upon the Capital to-morrow. Those steamers, together with the Portuguese vessels, would enable me to reach Lisbon in a few days; and with sufficient force to secure my unembarrassed action.

"Senhora. Believe me, that it was not petty or personal interest or, still less, mean desire of revenge, which led me once more to expose my all to the great risk attending the hazardous enterprise I undertook; but that I had solely in view the consolidation of your Majesty's Throne and the liberties of my country.

"In the extraordinary circumstances in which I am placed, I have been forced to make, in your Majesty's name, many promotions and appointments; as well as to bestow some few

Orders. It would be very grateful to my feelings, if your Majesty would deign to confirm them before I arrive at Lisbon. I kiss your Majesty's hand for the honour you have done me in naming me Premier and Home Minister; and charging me with the formation of a Cabinet. Motives of delicacy, in addition to many others, compel me to beg your Majesty to excuse me from being a member of the Cabinet; although I accept the task of forming one, as soon as I arrive at Lisbon; as I consider, that by so doing, I can, in the peculiar situation in which we are placed, better serve your Majesty's interests.

"Senhora. Liberty united with order; justice; morality; and the strictest economy in the collection and administration of the public revenue, are our great national wants. If your Majesty is pleased to promise me your support to enable me to eradicate abuses; to see that the constitutional principles are not cavilled at; and that your name shall never serve as a cloak to injustice; I believe, and I think I may even assure your Majesty in the name of the Nation, that our country will yet enjoy days of peace and prosperity: a prospect which will be still better assured if your Majesty would add to those promises, a resolution to imitate the example of English Sovereigns, who are adored by all their subjects of whatever political bias, and content yourself with reigning, while you leave your Ministers to govern.

"Begging your Majesty's pardon for the candour with which I have laid my opinion before you, I kiss respectfully your Majesty's hand, and the King's, etc.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

This letter was officially replied to on the 7th, by the three acting Ministers, who declared that her Majesty had received it with great satisfaction; and had fully appreciated the Marshal's noble and generous sentiments. It was, at the same time, also made known to him that the Queen approved of and would confirm all the appointments which he had thought it necessary to make.

Accompanying this letter was a Decree, signed by the Queen on the 6th, by which the Marshal was reinstated in the Office

of Mordomo Mór. It is therein declared that, having received that appointment, on the 19th of September 1848, in consideration of the distinguished services rendered to the Queen, to the dynasty, and to the country, it was an act of justice to replace him in that high office; so that, once for all, every trace should be obliterated "of conduct towards you, practised for considerations which it is not fit should be remembered."

On the same day, the following Decree was signed by the Queen and the Minister of War.

"Considering that in the official communication made by the Marshal Duke de Saldanha on the 6th of March 1850, there was no want of decorum and respect due to me as Chief of the State, to whom the said Marshal has always given the most undoubted proofs of devotion and esteem: and that the severe language which he made use of was the just expression of his offended honour as a soldier, and censure of the acts of the Ministry, which, at that time, formed my Council; without in any way passing the limits of that liberty with which distinguished men holding high appointments have always considered it praiseworthy, and a duty, to address themselves to their Sovereign in matters of weight and importance: I, therefore, in accordance with the request made to me by the King, my much loved and esteemed husband, Marshal-General and Commander-in-Chief of the army, have thought proper to annul the decree of the 13th of the said month of March; ordering that it shall be of no effect, as if it had never existed: and that the said Decree, together with any documents connected with it, shall be suppressed in such manner that no vestige of it may remain. And I furthermore order, that the said Marshal Duke de Saldanha shall be restored to the post of 1st Aide-de-Camp to my much loved and esteemed husband."

"RAINHA.

"BARÃO DE FRANCOS."

This Decree was followed by another, on the 12th, by which the Marshal's dismissal, as Member of the Supreme Military Court of Justice, was declared void.

We will leave the Marshal at Oporto for a few days, while we

endeavour to make the reader acquainted with the intrigues which were going forward at Lisbon. This we are enabled to do, by extracts from letters, in our possession, which show the extraordinary nature of Saldanha's position, and the manifold difficulties he had to contend against.

One correspondent, who wrote under the disguised signature of "No. 2," strongly advised him not to fall into any trap that might be laid: and not to go to Lisbon unless accompanied by a sufficient number of troops. "For," said he, "there are plans of reaction amongst the Cabralistas, which will not fail of finding support in the Palace itself."

The Count das Antas, already on the 1st of May, wrote to warn the Marshal of "a thousand plans and plots which are going forward to overturn your heroic movement." The Count adds: "You know that I am not one of those who most fear intrigues; but I think it necessary to warn you with all frankness."

Sr. A. de Silva Tullio wrote that he could not describe the enthusiasm and affection felt for the Marshal in the literary world; and their hope of seeing, by his exertions, the regeneration of the country. He added; that the "Gremio Litterario" was preparing to receive him in a manner worthy of his position.

General Baron de Leiria wrote to congratulate the Marshal; and exclaimed: "More fortunate than I was in 1837,* the army recognizes in your Excellency the generous and faithful interpreter of the national wish. The Queen and the Charter are once again saved by your exertions. . . . . I have no higher ambition than to be considered in the number of your true friends."

On the 5th, Count das Antas addressed the following interesting letter to the Marshal.

"*May 5th*, 1851.

"MY VERY DEAR MARSHAL AND FRIEND,

"I received your letter of yesterday through Sr.

* Instead of waiting for the arrival of the Marshals, who were hastening to his succour, he gave battle to Das Antas, and was routed.

Crespo; and I trust that you enjoy the health which is so necessary to enable you to accomplish the arduous task you have in hand.

"I was called, yesterday, to the Palace; and, not being able to decline the invitation, I went there. The Queen first spoke to me; and, afterwards, the King. They made a thousand inquiries about you; and they both appeared to be in great anxiety, because you had neither telegraphed, nor replied to the questions addressed to you. They asked if you were offended with them; and, among other things, enquired if you would accept the Premiership; and if your demands would be very unreasonable. I replied, that having conversed with you on several occasions, you had always spoken of their Majesties with the greatest respect: your objection being solely to the Ministry. That I could not say if you would accept the post of Premier or not; but that I believed that you would beg her Majesty to appoint a Cabinet composed of certain individuals: and, that with regard to your demands, I felt assured they would be limited to that which was necessary for the stability and security of the situation.

"They further enquired if you would return with Reis e Vasconcellos. To this I replied that I thought you would not: for that you would only make your appearance in Lisbon at the head of a respectable force. The Queen expressed her willingness to accede to every thing you could reasonably ask; and assured me that she had placed entire confidence in you from the moment she dismissed the Cabral Cabinet. The King declared, that after what took place at Coimbra with the troops, he had decided to give up the command of the army; and had, in fact, done so.

"After this conversation, her Majesty called the English Minister who was at the end of the room: and you may imagine my surprise when I heard him say to her: 'Madam, I am very glad to see Count das Antas present, that he may hear me repeat that which I officially stated to your Majesty a few days before the Duke de Saldanha left Lisbon. I then requested your Majesty, in the name of my Government, and, particularly, on the part of my Sovereign, to dismiss Count de

Thomar and his colleagues;* offering to him a safe asylum in England. I am now informed by my Consul at Oporto, under date of yesterday, that, after staying two days at Vigo, the Count de Thomar, on the third, set out for Madrid.' The Queen made no reply.

"Efforts to bring about a reaction are being boldly and publicly made here; and, already, yesterday, D. Carlos had a skirmish with the people. As the Queen will not deprive him of the command of the Municipal Guard, the three Ministers tendered their resignation, which may, probably, be accepted tomorrow: the rather that the arrival of Reis e Vasconellos reanimated certain people, by the assurance that you were disposed to carry out punctually her Majesty's orders, to avoid causing her the slightest vexation! Fonte Nova took the command to-day; but will perhaps resign tomorrow: because, having ordered the artillery, which is at the Carmo, to return to its barracks, D. Carlos did not obey him.

"The remainder of the troops which formed the King's Division entered yesterday and to-day. I am assured that the privates and non-commissioned officers have declared their approbation of the movement; but that the majority of the officers are dissatisfied with it.

"You can judge of the immense force which is at your disposal. Put aside all obstacles: place yourself in the position of a revolutionary Chief: declare yourself Dictator surrounded with fixed bayonets; otherwise, the revolution will be fruitless; and you, together with the brave fellows who will have sacrificed themselves at your call, will become the victims of your sense of duty.

"My opinion, therefore, is, that before you come here, you ought to demand all that is necessary to strengthen the situation. The first point being the formation of a Cabinet composed of individuals you can rely upon: you being Premier and

* The danger to which the Queen was exposing herself and the country, at this period, was apparent to all, except to herself. These few words of the British Envoy afford a further proof for the necessity of Saldanha's bold undertaking.

Minister of War: while, by the King's resignation, you will command the army.

"What I have said is the advice of a true friend; and springs from the interest I feel for you, and for the success of the glorious movement you have directed; as well as from the certainty that, if you act otherwise, we shall soon see Count de Thomar again in power; the country in the hands of the scoundrels who have preyed upon it; and ourselves sentenced to extermination. Yours, etc.,

"CONDE DAS ANTAS."

A letter from Reis e Vasconcellos, written immediately after his return from Oporto, gives us a further insight to what was going forward at Lisbon.

"*May 5th.* 7 P.M.

"ILL^MO. E EX^MO. S^R.

"I write to you by the Queen's desire; but have not yet been able to see the *poor* Ministers. She was very pleased with your letter; and conversed with me for a good two hours. The King, afterwards, when alone with me, shed tears, more than once, when speaking of you. The promotions you made at Oporto are to be confirmed immediately; and you will be named Commander-in-Chief: that is to say, the Queen has declared her intention to do so; and I do not suppose that the Ministers will oppose it. The Patuleia * have been stirring a little in Lisbon; but I have given out that you are coming with sufficient force to carry out your programme of Oporto; and that you will not consent to any cavilling: though, at the same time, you will not allow a step to be taken towards the abdication which the Septembrist Papers are insisting upon.

"I am going to look after foreign steamers; but, in any case, the *Mindello; Porto;* and *Tojal* will go; so that you will have six at Oporto. I beg you most earnestly to embark on Saturday. The Queen charged me, to-day, to communicate to you, at Coimbra,† her feelings of gratitude; and to say that she begged you not to send the Grenadiers, at present, on

* Mob. † The Marshal was there on the 7th to review the troops.

account of the King. If you can, without inconvenience, accede to this request, I would advise you to do so. Allow me to add a piece of advice as to your disembarcation. In all probability there will be a great deal of cheering; and I hope there will be. But, in your place, I would from feelings of modesty, disembark at Pampulha, and let the troops go to the Terreiro do Paço. You would receive the applause of the people at night, in the theatre, where you cannot avoid going. Pardon this suggestion from one who, from the bottom of his heart, esteems your glory.

"The Queen asked me if I knew whom you wished to be Ministers. I replied that I did not; but that your main desire was to select men of unstained honesty. She then enquired if you would propose Count de Lavradio; to which I replied that you had mentioned no one to me; but that I might remind you of him as a competent man.

"She continued: 'God grant he may; but they tell me, the Marshal does not like him.' 'It is not so, your Majesty,' I exclaimed; 'this is but another of the false assertions of your Majesty's advisers.'

"Fonte Nova commands the garrison. This, coupled with all I have said, and shall continue to repeat, respecting your views, will keep everything quiet until you arrive.

"Your very respectful friend and obliged servant,

"J. J. REIS E VASCONCELLOS."

The following letter shows the opinion, however little warranted by facts, which prevailed in Lisbon respecting the danger of the Marshal's position. It was addressed to him by his nephew, with other signatures appended.

"LISBON, *May 6th*, 1851.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"Your friends are in great anxiety on account of the rumour which is current in Lisbon. It is said that you will be met at sea by an armed force for the purpose of preventing your patriotic expedition. This may be but a vain fear; but the warning comes from a good source; and many symptoms

tend to confirm it. Your coming by land will quiet us. Think upon this, and be governed by your usual prudence. I am, etc.,

"CONDE DE RIO MAIOR.

"JOSÉ MARIA GRANDE; MARQUEZ DE VALLADA; ANTONIO ALUIZIO JERVIS D'ATHOGUIA; ANTONIO THOMAZ DE ALMEIDA E SILVA.

"P.S.—It is the French Squadron that we fear: and although such an attempt may appear unlikely—absurd—we have seen phenomena of a similar kind."

A letter of the same date, from Sr. F. A. F. da Silva Ferrão, acquainted the Marshal that his friends had received confidential notice of a trap being prepared for him on his arrival; and he urges him either to come by land, or, at least, to disembark at Cascaes. Sr. J. M. Grande also wrote to warn the Marshal against plots of reaction, which, he declared, found support in the Palace. Sr. J. A. de Aguiar wrote with the same object; and Herculano despatched two letters to the Marshal on the same day. In the one, he writes: "Do not come without sufficient force. If the safety of any man was ever indispensable for the salvation of a country, it is yours at this moment for Portugal. What you said respecting vexatious taxation is most correct. Bad laws; bad regulations; bad tax gatherers; have exasperated every one. . . . I had abjured politics; but you have had the skill to make me return to them with an enthusiasm which I had not believed possible; —enthusiasm of a *dilettante* of course."

Scarcely was this letter sent, when Herculano heard that it was the Marshal's intention to come by water. He immediately seized his pen and wrote:

"I felt sad; as if there was in the atmosphere I know not what of treason. . . . Marshal, Marshal! Remember that your life, safety, and liberty, is the life, safety, and liberty of the country."

Another correspondent wrote: "Come, come by land. Follow the advice of Herculano. For God's sake, do not come by water: come by land."

Reis e Vasconcellos also wrote, on the 7th, informing the

Marshal of the project, as part of the programme of the day, on his arrival at Lisbon, that the whole of the troops should defile before their Majesties; and he observed: "There is an idea of raising *Vivas* to your Excellency as Regent; in which case you will act as you think best." *

He then referred to the many absurd reports which were current: amongst others, that the Marshal, as he entered the Tagus, would be captured by the English frigates; whilst, on the other hand, it was assumed that the occasion would be seized to declare the Queen's abdication, and to proclaim the Regency of Saldanha.

"The King," continues Vasconcellos, "has resigned the Command-in-chief. He is much to be pitied; and your Excellency will not refrain from tears when you see him. I can vouch for his sincerity and good faith. If it were not for past experience, which prevents me from having too great confidence, I might, from what I have seen, and from the part I have taken in these affairs, be inclined to believe in the *attrition* and *contrition* of *somebody else*. In the mean time, for the personal interest of the individual to whom I allude, none of those precautions must be omitted which, without showing disrespect, will cut off every possibility of a relapse.... Marshal; by the memory of the son you lost, beware of those evil spirits who will devour your good fame, if you allow yourself to be ensnared by them."

Baron da Luz, War Minister *ad interim*, wrote to the Marshal on the 6th, saying with how much satisfaction their Majesties had received his letter, and how greatly it had restored tranquillity to their minds. He scouts the idea of reaction; but refers to the report of an intention of giving *Vivas* to the "Regent" when the Marshal lands. "Not believing," he adds, "that your Excellency would countenance such a proceeding, we shall take every precaution to prevent it."

No one can doubt the power which, at this period, Saldanha possessed of assuming the Regency; and, like another Espartero, of dismissing the Queen with every outward demonstration of respect. We cannot but notice the small amount of loyalty

* E neste caso fará o que entender.

towards the Queen displayed in the letters of his correspondents; as if they feared to declare a loyalty which they might have to unsay. Even the Minister of War appears to apologize for the "precautions" which he deemed necessary to prevent the cry for "Saldanha as Regent;" by expressing his disbelief that such demonstrations would be countenanced by the Marshal himself. But Saldanha was "faithful found . . . . . his loyalty he kept."

Sr. Reis again wrote on the 8th. His letter, while it lays bare the intrigues which were going forward to influence the Marshal against their Majesties, shows how convinced was the writer, of the perfect good faith of both the Queen and the King.

"LISBON, *May 8th*, 1851.

"ILL^MO E EX^MO SENHOR,

"The letter of which Ferrão is the bearer is a sad document of the folly of some individuals, and of the wickedness of others. I will commence by saying, that were it my own case, I should consider my end most glorious, if, after all that has taken place, and after such a letter as you received from the Queen, I were to come to Lisbon and fall a victim to treachery. My name would be engraved in history—applauded and venerated by every noble soul and generous heart. But setting aside this consideration, so weighty for a plebeian like me, and which must make your illustrious blood boil, let us look at the affair with the prudence and calmness so necessary in all great crises.

"Is the Queen, whom God has not bereft of sense and talent, likely to renew in your person some of the scenes of the middle ages? Can she be desirous of figuring in the eyes of the world as a being without religion; without honour; without dignity of mind? For she would be wanting in all these, ere she could resolve either to plan or connive at so black a project as that which is attributed to her.* And the King—a man of

* Treachery, if not assassination, was reported to have been meditated by some party: but no one could really suspect the virtuous Queen, D. Maria II. or her honourable husband, of countenancing either one or the other. Sr. Reis, it appears, would have risked martyrdom for the glory of it.

the finest feelings and education—would he care to dishonour himself in the eyes of his relations by authorizing treachery? And Oporto! with the army you have there! what would it do if it saw its General betrayed, and imprisoned in Lisbon? And the entire country which has already declared itself in favour of the movement? I fear to offend you by continuing these and other observations—so obvious and so clear. It is impossible but that you must see in this famous *missive*, the foolish credulity of some, and the perfidy of others, who endeavour to take advantage of the situation, utterly regardless of their poor country; who care not for your good name and reputation; nor consider that the eyes of Europe, or, at least, of England, are upon us, which might be led to impose conditions both severe and hard to bear. It is impossible, therefore, that you can renounce your plan of coming by sea. Considering, however, that at this moment, the slightest hesitation, or any step shewing suspicion of the Queen, would be equivalent to declaring her incapacity to occupy the Throne, I determined to make her and the King acquainted with the contents of the said letter; which I commissioned Rodrigo to do; as, having had a bad fall yesterday, I had to be bled. Rodrigo swears by his beard * that he saw nothing but candour and good faith in the two august personages. I made an effort, and went there this morning before 9 o'clock; and, I can assure you, I observed nought but candour. A proof of this you will find in the enclosed letter, which the Queen handed to me in the King's presence. Already yesterday I told you to be prepared to shed tears when you meet him. You cannot refrain from so doing. He is upright and open; and I feel sure that he would sooner resign his position as husband to the Queen, or father of his children, than feast on the poisoned fruit of treachery.

"No one knows that I have written to you; nor that the Queen wrote to you to-day; except Rodrigo. The Ministers, therefore, know nothing of it; so you must keep it a profound secret. Of course, Seymour, with whom Rodrigo had an interview this morning, knows of it. He offered to send a steamer, specially to convey a letter from him to you. Rodrigo made a

* A Portuguese expression.

capital point in this—such as he is accustomed to make:—for he obtained, as it were, an English diplomatic guarantee of the situation; which is the only one which can give permanent existence to the political acts of this country.

"My dear Marshal, adieu, until Monday. My voice will be raised for you in spite of the Ferrãos and the fools.

"Your respectful and obliged friend and loyal servant,

"J. J. REIS E VASCONCELLOS.

"P.S.—The *patriots* have inlisted people to await you at Sacavem, (if you come by land) and join you with the cry of 'Viva Pedro V.'"

The following is the letter referred to, which the Queen intrusted to Sr. Reis to forward to the Marshal.

"LISBON, *May 8th*, 1851.

"I know for certain, that by the steamers which were sent from here to Oporto to transport the Duke to the Capital, there went a deputation composed of certain individuals, among whom was Councillor Ferrão, with the treacherous and malevolent purpose of endeavouring to create, in the noble heart of the Duke de Saldanha, doubts as to my good faith, and the sincerity of my language towards him. I know that they wish to persuade the Duke not to come by sea; and, to effect their object, they imagine plans of reaction, and of others still more unworthy. The Duke knows me well enough to be satisfied that I am always true to those to whom I give my confidence. I confide in the Duke to come and assist me under the present difficult circumstances: the Duke will therefore despise these and other equally unworthy tricks; and will, at once, perceive their real object. The Capital is in a state of disquietude; and will remain so until, by the arrival of the Duke, our situation becomes more definite. There are, without doubt, sinister plots, and there are many who seek to fish in troubled waters. Therefore it is, that those whose interests are advanced by this state of uncertainty, have not abandoned their plots, and desire to delay the moment of the Duke's arrival. You see the candour with which I address you; and

you will give their unworthy and malevolent insinuations their true value. You will not, I feel sure, fail to come as soon as possible to the Capital; for each day renders your presence the more necessary.

"MARIA."

Sir Hamilton Seymour had watched with anxiety the course of events; and was well aware of the dangers to the Queen and country, which Saldanha, by his decided conduct, had averted. He had now lived long enough in Portugal to appreciate, as had his predecessor, Lord Howard de Walden, the noble motives which guided the Marshal in every action of his life: consequently, when requested by the Ministers to offer to the triumphant General such advice as circumstances might warrant, he accompanied his official Note with the following private letter.

Private. "LISBON, 8*th May*, 1851.

"DEAR DUKE DE SALDANHA,

"The accompanying official letter says in lofty language, what I am anxious to repeat in a more familiar manner.

"What was the case three days ago is much more the case to-day.

"The Throne is surrounded by dangers which your presence alone can avert. The persons who are intent upon disorders and treason are as well aware of this as I am; and are, therefore, intent upon keeping you away as long as possible: hence the suggestion of your staying awhile at Oporto, and of your coming by land journey to Lisbon.

"I entreat of you then—for the sake of the Queen, and for your own sake—do not attend to such insinuations. Come here by sea, as the most rapid means of conveyance; and come instantly—without an hour's delay.

"The garrison is all for you: the town is all for you: and from the King and Queen I will guarantee you not only a generous, but a cordial reception.

"This letter is written at the desire of *your* Queen; and it is likewise at the request of H. M. F. Majesty that, with a view to its speedy delivery, I despatch a steamer to Oporto.

"The same steamer can bring you back should you wish to take your passage on board her. Pray believe me to remain, dear Duke de Saldanha,

"Very truly and faithfully yours,

"G. H. SEYMOUR."

To this letter the Marshal replied, in English, as follows:

"PORTO, *May 11th*, 1851.

"MY DEAR SIR HAMILTON,

"I have received with gratitude your official communication and your private letter. It would be impossible to present myself in Lisbon without a sufficient force to enable me to face any difficulties that might occur against the banner I have unfurled. Many obstacles have been surmounted; and I hope, believe, and I think may affirm, that I have once more saved the throne of her Faithful Majesty.

"Ximenes goes by the *Dauntless*. He must precede me by a few hours, in order to speak with the popular Chiefs; and to spread the Proclamation—a copy of which I enclose.

"The whole nation has but one thought—one wish. The people have been often disappointed. Every one points out the cause. My task has been a very difficult one. I hope that this severe lesson will not be lost; but, if it is, no power on earth will prevent a terrible catastrophe in a few months.

"We are quite ready; and will put to sea as soon as the bar will allow.

"Yours most truly and sincerely,

"SALDANHA."

The Marshal's continuance, for a while, at Oporto, had been necessary. We learn from a few hasty lines to his wife, that he was at Coimbra on the 7th: whither he had gone to review the 2nd Division. On the 9th, he had returned to Oporto; and he wrote that he had ridden twelve leagues on the previous day; and, on his return, had to receive three deputations from Lisbon alone; besides having to attend to so many letters and conferences that he was almost exhausted (*estafado*).

On the 10th, Ximenes left Oporto in H. B. M. ship, *Dauntless*, charged with the following letter for the Queen.

"OPORTO, *May 10th.*

"SENHORA,

"Information which I have received from the Capital, by the steamer, *Mindello*, determined me to send D. Miguel Ximenes to Lisbon, and he will have the honour to kiss, in my name, your Majesty's hand.

"I think it absolutely necessary that the inhabitants of Lisbon should know my intentions before I arrive; and, for this purpose, I send 2000 Proclamations to be affixed in the streets.

"With the most sincere and profound respect, I kiss your Majesty's hand, and that of the King.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

The following was the Proclamation forwarded.

"OPORTO, *May 9th*, 1851.

"INHABITANTS OF LISBON.

"The banner I had the honour to raise is so thoroughly national, that, as soon as displayed, it was recognized in every corner of the kingdom, in the most sincere, frank, and determined manner. Let us consolidate the Throne of her Majesty Queen D. Maria and her dynasty; let us reform the Constitutional Charter; let our elections be really and truly free, in order to obtain a correct expression of the national will: and the system of immorality and corruption; of robbery and peculation; which had become a theory of government, will give place to one of justice and liberty; of morality and economy.

"In a few hours, I trust to be amongst you. I know that the agents of the corrupt and corrupting Minister await that moment to raise seditious cries. Should this occur, let the first man who dares to do so be seized, and handed over to the authorities.

"I am intimately convinced that the Standard I have raised is the one approved of by the nation; and, persuaded that my

fellow citizens of Lisbon know my character, I am certain that they will do me the justice to believe, that I will use every means in my power to make it respected.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

While at Oporto, the Marshal received the following letter, which bears testimony to the writer's sense of duty, as well as of his affection for his friend and comrade.

"OPORTO, *May 12th*, 1851.

"MY ESTEEMED DUKE,

"I have the honour to address your Excellency in order to express the friendship and high consideration which I feel, and have always felt, for you.

"Placed as I was by her Majesty in command of the 3rd Division, it was my duty to be faithful to the Sovereign, and obedient to her Government.

"If my duty had not been superior to the impulse of my heart, I should have seconded your Excellency: but the obligations of friendship disappeared before the duties of honour, which pointed out the path I had to follow. Of this, I do not repent; nor will your Excellency disapprove of my conduct.

"My dear Duke. I ask nothing from your Excellency. But if my sword should again be required to defend the Throne of her Majesty, or to support her Government, I will grasp it with the same loyalty with which I have always fulfilled my duties.

"Your Excellency's

"Comrade and old friend,

"CONDE DO CASAL."

The Marshal immediately sent for Casal, whom he received with great cordiality, and offered him a military command. The General excused himself, and remained unemployed down to the period of his death, which took place in January, 1854.

During this time, proposals were made to Saldanha, by a Deputation from Lisbon, to proclaim, on his arrival at the

Capital, his own Regency, and the abdication of the Queen. The Marshal requested the members of it to be seated while he prepared a written reply. He wrote as follows:

"I will immediately order to be shot any one who, on my entering Lisbon, should dare to utter a single word disrespectful to the Queen or to her authority."

Before leaving Oporto, he addressed a Proclamation to its inhabitants; in which we read, that, with a part of the brave regenerating army, he is about to proceed to the Capital. "Here," he said, "will be completed my aim; which is pure as is your loyalty; and patriotic as the feelings which dwell in your own hearts! *Portuenses:* confide in me, as I confide implicitly in you: and let us all trust in that Providence which will never abandon our country."

On the 15th of May, the Marshal arrived in the Tagus in the war steamer, *D. Luiz,* accompanied by the steamers, *Conde do Tojal; Mindello; Porto; Falcão;* and *Quinta do Vesuvio;* which brought the 1st Caçadores; Queen's Grenadiers; part of the 16th Infantry; 5th Caçadores; 2nd Infantry; 9th Caçadores; and 6th Infantry: divided into 3 Brigades under the command of Joaquim Bento Pereira; Grim Cabreira; and J. M. Fonseca Moniz.

His arrival, as we have seen from the Queen's letter, was awaited with feverish anxiety. On the 14th, a telegram announced that he had crossed the Oporto Bar about 1 o'clock on that day; and it was calculated that before noon, on the following morning, the Marshal would arrive in front of the Capital.

At 10 o'clock on the 15th, the expected steamers were seen off the Lisbon Bar. As they made their way up the lovely and extensive estuary of the Tagus, three steamers filled with people—with colours flying and bands playing—went out to meet them. One bore the students of the military and polytechnic schools; another the Marquis de Vallada and his friends; the third carried Sr. José Bernardo da Silva Cabral and a numerous party. The Ministers left the Arsenal in a royal barge at half-past 10; and, on reaching the *D. Luiz,* which brought the Marshal, they all stepped on board.

The moment Saldanha was informed that the Queen was anxious to see him, he entered the barge; and accompanied by the Ministers; his Adjutant General, Ximenes; and some of his Aides-de-Camp, he landed at the Pampulha Quay. His disembarkation, at this spot, was entirely unexpected by the people; but thousands of eyes were watching the approach of the barge from the moment it left the steamer's side; and a vast assemblage soon changed the intended quiet landing into an enthusiastic reception. Hundreds of rockets pierced the air; and *Vivas* from thousands of mouths welcomed the man who had delivered his country from the dangers which had threatened her.

Baron da Luz rode forward to announce to their Majesties the Marshal's approach. Upon arriving at the Palace, Saldanha was received by the Queen and the King Consort with the greatest cordiality. After this meeting, he returned on board; and orders were given for the immediate disembarkation of the troops, which he personally superintended. The Tagus was literally covered with boats: its shores were lined with crowds of spectators: it was a scene of national rejoicings. The Marshal followed the last boat-load of the troops, and landed at the Quay in the fine Square, where the bust of his illustrious grandfather, the Marquis de Pombal, is seen upon the pedestal of the famous equestrian statue, erected in honour of the King he so well served during twenty-seven years. The crowd at this spot was so dense, that it was with difficulty that an opening could be cleared for the Marshal to reach the War Office, where the Duchess awaited his arrival. He here received the congratulations of many of his friends; amongst whom were the author and his wife, who had recently arrived from Rome. After this, he re-entered the great Square and reviewed the troops. From thence, he proceeded to the Foreign Office, where he was congratulated by the Corps Diplomatique.

The Marshal then remounted his horse; and, the troops being formed in columns, he placed himself at their head and called for cheers for the Queen; the reformed Charter; and the noble inhabitants of Lisbon; which were given with the greatest enthusiasm. On this, the order was given to march to the

Necessidades Palace, where the troops defiled before their Majesties and the royal family.

Committees had been formed to prepare a reception for the Marshal in correspondence with the desire of his friends and the enthusiasm of the people: but far more imposing; far more brilliant than the triumphal arches; the flower-strewn streets; the laurel wreaths hanging from the gaily decorated houses on either side of the route along which Saldanha proudly rode, was the spontaneous enthusiastic welcome which the entire people of a great Capital offered to the man whom they received as the Saviour of their country, of their liberties, and of their Queen.

From the Palace, the troops were marched to their various barracks, where an abundant mess was prepared for their enjoyment. At night, the houses were for the most part illuminated: and the reception Saldanha met with at the Opera House, where their Majesties were present, was an enthusiastic ovation.

A deputation from the Municipal Chamber read the following address to the Marshal on the day following his arrival.

"Marshal! The inhabitants of Lisbon unite their congratulations to those of the nation. The day on which the Capital once more beholds the illustrious warrior will for ever be remembered as one of its most joyous and glorious. The Municipal Chamber faithfully represents the sentiments of the inhabitants. The glories of peace will add to the glories acquired in war. The name of the Duke de Saldanha, already renowned for so many deeds of valour; for so many acts worthy of heroic times, personifies the aspirations of Portugal: it should be inscribed on the banner which all the sons of Portugal ought to follow when they seek order and liberty.

"Marshal! The act of rare self-devotion which unsheathed the ever glorious sword of the Duke de Saldanha will never be forgotten. The nation confides itself to the man who did not fear to trust, under God's blessing, so great an undertaking to the fortune of his sword. Portugal venerates the citizen who, having already acquired so much of honour and glory, still desired to inscribe his name in the history of his country as an example of self-sacrifice. Future generations will acknowledge that Marshal Saldanha, when exposing himself to exile and

misfortune, offered to Liberty all he had acquired in her defence: and, like another Washington, devoted himself for his country's welfare.

"The Municipal Chamber, while congratulating the Marshal, congratulates the country: and trusts that this day will be the dawn of a new and glorious epoch."

Here follow the signatures.

In reply, the Marshal said:

"SENHORES,—

"The felicitations and the good wishes which the Municipal Chamber of Lisbon, in the name of the inhabitants of the Capital, has just conveyed to me, are most grateful to my feelings.

"Grown old in the Cause of Liberty, my sword shall never be unsheathed but in her defence, and in that of my country. Companion and friend of the Emperor, D. Pedro, I trust, like him, to end my days, honoured by this good and generous people who have bestowed on me so cordial a reception.

"Tell the inhabitants of Lisbon, Senhores, that the demonstrations with which they, yesterday, received me, have, in my declining years, reanimated my ardour and renovated my enthusiasm for the general welfare. Tell them that the olive crowns which they offered to me yesterday will be more prized than the laurels which my sword had the good fortune to win during the struggles for our liberty and independence. Tell them, finally, that the proofs of affection which, not only this city, but the entire country has afforded me, form a sacred debt —an obligation of honour—in pledge of which, like D. João de Castro,* I would leave my straggling locks in your hands, if I could, for one moment, imagine that my word was insufficient.

"Senhores! I confidently rely upon receiving the co-operation of the people; not only of Lisbon, but of the entire kingdom;

* D. João de Castro, the renowned Viceroy of Portuguese India, requiring a somewhat heavy loan, when preparing for a warlike expedition, found it unnecessary to give his creditors other guarantee for its repayment than three hairs from his beard; which, at the close of the war, were honourably redeemed. A somewhat similar anecdote is recounted of "the Cid."

to enlabe me to carry out the work of our regeneration; which may be summed up in these four words: JUSTICE; LIBERTY; ORDER; MORALITY."

Immediately on the Marshal's arrival at Lisbon, he undertook the formation of a Ministry. Baron da Luz, still in office, suggested the following names: Rodrigo; Garrett; Jervis; Folque; Franzini; and Saldanha himself with the War Portfolio: but he assured the Marshal that any Ministry selected by him would be approved of at the Palace.

On the 17th, Saldanha received Royal Letters from the Queen, countersigned by the Minister of War, appointing him Commander-in-Chief of the Army: and, on the same day, the new Administration was composed as follows:

DUKE DE SALDANHA . .	*President; Home; and War.*
A. A. JERVIS DE ATHOGUIA .	*Foreign.*
MARINO MIGUEL FRANZINI .	*Finance.* (*Justice* until the 22*nd.*)
BARON DA LUZ . . .	*Marine.* On the 22*nd*, he was succeeded by THE MARQUIS DE LOULÉ.
JOAQUIM FILIPPE DE SOURE .	*Justice*, from the 22*nd.*

With respect to this Ministry, with which Saldanha was to commence his arduous labours, we offer no opinion of our own: but the Viscount d'Alges,* in a letter to the Marshal, written at a subsequent period, thus expresses himself: "I then learnt that notwithstanding your Excellency's great talent and acuteness, you had allowed yourself to be imposed upon; and that your extreme goodness had led you to believe in the sanctity of men, and in the possibility of forming a Government of Angels."

* Better known to the reader as the ex-Minister, J. A. M. de Sousa Azevedo.

CHAPTER XI.

1851—1856.

Saldanha in Office—Attempts reforms—Resigns the Home Office—Letter to his successor—Magalhães Home Minister—Franzini—Financial and political difficulties—Congratulations from Marshal Beresford—Palmerston resigns—Political consequences—Granville in office—Letter from Magalhães—Queen Victoria and D. Maria II.—Bishop of Vizeu—Intrigues—Saldanha's defence of his revolution—Letter from José Estevão—Queen visits the north—Anecdote—M. Front—*Acto addicional*—Dissolution of the Cortes—Letter to War Minister—Saldanha's illness—Letter from the Queen—Death of Leonel—Saldanha wishes to resign—His resignation not accepted—Letter from the King-Consort—Reply—Death of the Queen—Anecdotes—Regency of Sr. D. Fernando—Thomar returns—Saldanha's continued illness—A strange accusation—Letters to the King and to Magalhães—Death of the Duchess—Lord Howard to Saldanha—D. Pedro V.—His Letters—Golden Fleece conferred on Saldanha—Letter from Queen of Spain—Order of the White Eagle—Saldanha leaves office—New Ministry.

ONE of the first acts of the Marshal, as Home Minister, was to address a Circular, dated May 20th, to all the Civil Governors of the Kingdom. In it, after declaring the importance of a proper selection of subordinates, each Governor is charged to ascertain if the Administrators of districts scrupulously performed their duties: and, on proof of misconduct, or of marked partisanship with or against any of those political parties into which the country was divided, they were to be suspended and reported to the Government. But, having regard to the way in which such parties alter and disfigure facts, the Civil Governors were to be very careful in giving credit to the information laid before them; and they were themselves, on the spot, to seek to ascertain the truth. In proposing a substitute for any Administrator when suspended, the Governor is ordered to prefer one who is esteemed by the people; if, at the same time, he is

a man of "austere probity and honour;" and one whose moral conduct may, by his example, cast its influence over the people, etc. etc.

Thus the good and sanguine Marshal imagined, that, with a few strokes of the pen, and a little advice to the Civil Governors, he could provide the country with honest and competent employés. We may presume that he viewed his work with satisfaction; and considered that he had laid the foundation of a just government, when, two days afterwards, he thought fit to resign the Home Office into the hands of Sr. Pestana. But the subsequent conduct of this gentleman was not, apparently, satisfactory; for, ere he had been three weeks in office, the Marshal, as Prime Minister, addressed to him the following letter.

"*June 10th*, 1851.

"ILL^mo. E EX^mo. SENHOR.

"When I put myself at the head of the national movement for the political regeneration of the country, I established, as a programme for the future, the principles which I expressed in my Circular to the Civil Governors on the 29th of April; and again in the *Portaria* of the 20th of May, which pointed out the manner in which public appointments were to be made.

"I am sorry to say that facts are continually made known to me, which show a complete departure from the principles insisted on in these *Portarias* respecting the dismission and appointment of Administrators of districts:—facts which, by their nature, afford the conviction that these removals are either brought about by influences adverse to the Government, or by a greedy desire to obtain employment.

"It was certainly not for this purpose that our national movement took place; nor is it thus that we can compass our political regeneration. For such conduct is essentially opposed to our object, and renders our work ineffective. It being my duty to watch the course of events, I beg to remind your Excellency of the necessity for taking all these especial circumstances into consideration; and for making yourself acquainted with the proceedings of the Civil Governors; and with the

reasons of sundry recent dismissions; as well as of the previous behaviour, both civil and political, of candidates, and of those already appointed. It is incumbent that those Civil Governors, who have not followed their instructions, should be dismissed; and that the others should be reminded, that the orders of the Ministry, over which I have the honour to preside, must be complied with, and not neglected. And should any of these Civil Governors not feel themselves equal to the faithful and scrupulous carrying out of the aforesaid programmes, let them ask their dismission, for it is essential that the Government of the country be firm, just, and upright in all its actions.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

Sr. Pestana did not long survive (politically) the advice given by his Chief. He, very shortly afterwards, sent in his resignation; and was succeeded in office by our old acquaintance, Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães.

The Minister of Finance, Franzini, displayed a meritorious desire to put his shoulder to the wheel in aid of the Marshal; and thus wrote to him on the 21st of May: "It is urgent and indispensable that we should diminish our expenses; without which I do not see that our safety is either probable or possible. We must constantly bear in mind the deficit, which is frightful; and which utterly ruins us: and that the revenue of the current year is anticipated by more than a thousand Contos!! The Treasury is full of leaks which threaten to sink the State vessel, if we do not bring to its assistance energy and herculean strength."

With these difficulties, others of a not less serious nature presented themselves. The ultra-liberal Clubs were dissatisfied that the Queen had not been compelled to abdicate: and a document before us, dated Braga, May 30th, shows how great were the fears entertained in the north for the continuance of tranquillity.

Consequent on recent occurrences in Portugal, the Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna wrote to the Marshal informing him of the many falsehoods current in foreign newspapers respecting them; and that the Nuncio; the French Envoy; and many others

were fully persuaded that these events would result in the dethronement of the Queen. It is unnecessary to refute either these falsehoods or these opinions; for, the long peace enjoyed by the country; its prosperity; and its continuance of the Queen on the throne afford a sufficient answer.

The effect of Saldanha's measures for procuring impartial justice to all Portuguese may be judged of by a Circular signed by the more moderate leaders of the Progressista party, who acknowledged that the conscience of the elector was now independent of the pressure of that undue government influence, which, hitherto, had always been brought to sway it.

A few lines from Saldanha's old Commander, written towards the close of the year, are proof of the esteem with which Marshal Beresford ever continued to regard him. He wrote:

"I cannot doubt you are engaged in an arduous task; and you have my earnest wishes for its complete success, and for the prosperity of the Portuguese nation.

"You must excuse my using the hand of a friend to write for me, which my impaired sight makes it difficult for me to do beyond my signature, which confirms the sincerity of the friendship and regard of, my dear Saldanha,

"Yours ever most truly,

"BERESFORD.

"Marquez de Campo Maior."

The author was greatly amused one day, about this time, at an incident which took place at the Marshal's table. One Sr. Rocha expressed a desire to have some private conversation with his Excellency. "Immediately after dinner," replied he with his usual good nature. On Rocha adding, that the subject was one which particularly concerned the Marshal's own interest, he received the very characteristic answer, amidst the merriment of the company: "Oh, then, let it wait for a more convenient opportunity."

The Coup d'Etat of Louis Napoleon had influenced the policy at Madrid; and the Spanish Government had assumed a kind of Dictatorship, by decreeing measures, without the authority of the Cortes, for raising taxes for the year 1852. The Portu-

guese Chargé d'Affaires thereupon informed the Marshal, that the Cabinet of Madrid would be glad to hear of a reaction in favour of Thomar, in the expectation that a Government of a more absolute tendency might be established in Portugal, than could be hoped for while Saldanha was in office. On the 31st of December, he wrote that the resignation of Lord Palmerston had greatly contributed to this reactionary feeling; and, in furtherance of this opinion, he quoted from a letter which he had just received from Lord Howden, the British Envoy at Madrid. "Dans ce moment de réaction générale, j'en suis fâché: car, quoique je n'ai jamais été son admirateur aveugle; et quoique de tous les employés de son Ministère ce soit moi, peut-être, qui lui ait parlé le plus franchement sur les moyens quelquefois mauvais qu'il employait pour arriver à un but désirable; avec tout cela, je vois du danger dans sa retraite; et la joie qu'elle inspirera aux Puissances du Nord prouvera la vérité de ce que j'avance." At the conclusion of his letter, Lord Howden drew the following just picture of Palmerston's successor in office; the present Lord Granville. "Le successeur de Lord Palmerston est un jeune homme plein de moyens; fort doux; assidu au travail; très aimé de tout le monde; et très capable de faire un bon Ministre. Personellement il n'y a rien absolument contre lui."

The Chambers met on the 15th of December. Reports reached the Count de Vinhaes, commanding the 5th Division at Chaves, that Saldanha was about to resign the Command-in-Chief. "These reports," writes Vinhaes to the Marshal, "in presence of the critical state of the country and the exaltation of the demagogues—notwithstanding the strong attitude assumed by the French Government, and the preventive measures taken by our neighbours—have alarmed even the boldest: since they confide in your sword; and regard it as the sole security of the Throne and of our Institutions. . . . . Your Excellency, in whose hands is the power to save the country from the anarchy which threatens it, will answer before God, and to severe and impartial history, for the disasters which the country may suffer, should you take the step alluded to—so feared by many."

The following characteristic letter from Magalhães, the Home Minister, gives us a further insight into the difficulties which Saldanha was so solemnly called upon by Vinhaes to overcome.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"I was unable last night to speak about the affair of poor Count das Antas, because I was never alone with their Majesties. The Duke da Terceira, D. Thomaz de Mello, and others were there. The Queen enquired for you. I replied that I expected you would be there; but I fancied you were not feeling quite well. She then asked what I thought was the matter with you. I expressed my belief that you were suffering from a difficulty of *breathing*. I purposely made this reply, so as to convey the idea that I was keeping something secret. If they refer to this in conversation with your Excellency, you will have an opportunity of coming to an explanation. I beg you not to pass over, without consideration, the remark the Queen made to you about the anger of Queen Victoria, *who suffers from that which others suffer—Ministers whom they dislike.**

"I get enraged sometimes when I see the sacrifices we make (and I, more than any one, because I am the most worn out and incapable), and the return we meet with. Would to God I was freed from the torment in which I live.

"I would also have your Excellency study countenances. For some time past, there has been a certain curtness of manner, and a freedom of language, tending to prove the existence of a bad feeling, which, if it already existed, was at any rate, more concealed. . . . . What I have said refers to the Queen, for with regard to the King, I have not discovered the slightest change in him. Yours, etc.,

"R. F. MAGALHÃES."

* This refers to the complaints made by Queen Victoria respecting the behaviour of Lord Palmerston towards herself, of which we find particulars in Martin's "Life of Prince Albert." From a memorandum printed therein, we learn that the Prince reproached Lord Palmerston with conduct towards the Queen, "such as no Sovereign of England had before been obliged to put up with."

We have no space to describe the measures which Saldanha employed to keep the country quiet, and to promote its prosperity, during his administration. The following extract from the letter, already referred to, which he addressed to the Minister of War, in March, 1850, affords proof of the confidence he had in the result of whatever he undertook.

"I number 19 campaigns. All the officers of the Constitutional army, with very few exceptions, have served with me. But, as your Excellency is one of these exceptions, I cannot help telling you that on many occasions I have undertaken acts of the most decided rashness, and have always come out successful. The results have proved that, notwithstanding obstacles which to many appeared insuperable, victory was possible. Up to the present moment, thanks to the Supreme Being, I have never suffered a defeat; an evident proof, that in the numberless engagements, assaults, and battles, in which I have led my comrades to victory, I never undertook impossibilities. It will not be at the close of my life that I shall alter my course." *

From a pamphlet published during the Marshal's Administration, we extract the following succinct account of the noble aim with which he entered office. It is written by Antonio Alves Martins, who, in 1862, was appointed to the bishopric of Vizeu by the Duke de Loulé. We may observe that this ecclesiastic has, on several occasions, entered the Ministry; but that he was never associated in office with the Marshal.

"The Duke de Saldanha raised in April (1851) a banner which was the symbol of a conciliating and liberal policy; and one essentially preservative of order. The Duke did not enquire of those who enlisted under this banner from whence they came—whether Septembrists, Chartists, Cabralists, or Royalists: he ignored the antecedents of all those who followed him, in order that they themselves might forget their own former persuasions.

* It was this letter which led to the Marshal's dismission as Chief of the Staff to the King; and which the Queen, in the following year, declared, (page 281) in a royal decree, not to contain more than "the just expression of the Marshal's offended honour as a soldier."

"This mutual and voluntary amnesty; this general sacrifice on the altars of their expiring country; this grave-stone under which all our past errors were to rest; was to serve as the corner-stone of our new political edifice. In this light it was that we regarded the late change; and embraced it with all our heart."

Such writers did not tax the motives of Saldanha's conduct as "petty;" nor did they misrepresent them as "personal." The revolution of April was justified by its necessity; and the good it produced will be a lasting answer to its transient opponents.

Praiseworthy as were his efforts to unite all Portuguese in one common object—the welfare of their country—we must confess that success did not always attend them. General Ferreira, military governor of Oporto, drew the Marshal's attention to the incessant secret intrigues of the supporters of the late Ministry; so many of whom, in accordance with this desire of uniting all parties, had been allowed to retain their employments. Referring to the attempt recently made on the life of the Queen of Spain, by the anti-liberal party, Ferreira urged him to be careful of his own safety; and, after describing the activity of the Miguelites in the Minho, he gave, as a proof of the views of that party, the report that D. Miguel's wife was coming to Portugal for her approaching confinement.

Shortly after the opening of Parliament, the Marshal, in an excellent speech, justified the part he had taken in the movement of the preceding April. He dwelt on the enthusiasm with which it was received throughout the country; and although he deplored the necessity for military revolutions, or revolutions of whatever nature; yet, he said, there were occasions in the history of nations, when these evils were incurred in order to avoid still greater ones. And, indeed, we may with truth observe, that, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction which recent events had given rise to amongst the extreme sections of all parties, Portugal had rapidly assumed an appearance of tranquillity and progress.

A Spanish writer, at this time, observed with admiration; how consoling it was, that, amidst the terrible events which had recently taken place in Europe, one small country gave to

other nations lessons of tolerance, constitutionalism, and good government; and that the prudent, temperate, and liberal conduct of the Duke de Saldanha contradicted in the most efficient manner the gloomy forebodings of his detractors.

Saldanha having considered a vote given in the Chamber of Deputies, as adverse to the Ministry, it was feared that he would tender his resignation. Of the numerous letters remonstrating against such intention, we offer but one from that distinguished orator, José Estevão.

"*March 30th*, 1852.

"ILL^MO E EX^MO SEN^R,

"The state of my health will, unfortunately, only allow me to assist in the unravelling of this crisis by writing a few lines.

"Your Excellency is all powerful to relieve the country from the serious complications which will befal it, if the present system were overturned. The vote of yesterday is not sufficient to necessitate the retirement of the Ministry. It was not a vote of censure; nor was it a refusal to grant the supplies. It is a *questiuncula*, which some of your colleagues took advantage of to cause excitement in public affairs; and to carry out certain plans which they have for a long time meditated.

"By resigning, your Excellency would become a voluntary victim of those manœuvres; would gratify the wishes of the intriguers; and would abandon the country.

"I am incapable of advising any one to compromise his dignity or his honour—even one whom I neither know nor esteem. Still less would I do so to your Excellency.

"After having well considered your position and the state of the country, as well as the condition of European affairs; and after placing myself exactly in your situation, with every consideration for the nicest points of honour, I come to the conclusion: that for your Excellency to leave the Ministry under present circumstances would be almost an act of desertion, of which your Excellency is not capable, either as a man or as a soldier. Statesmen have also their principles of warfare.

"Your Excellency is not wholly bound to your colleagues: you are bound to the revolution which you made; to the hopes

which it created; to public tranquillity; and to the honest men whom you found amongst your momentary adversaries.

"I speak to you from my heart, and free from the influence of any interested motive.

"I keep a copy of this letter; and I pray to God that he may enlighten you to determine whatever is best for the country; and to sacrifice, with prudence and courage, whims and resentments which are unsuited to a statesman.

"Your Excellency's sincere friend,

"JOSÉ ESTEVÃO."

The preceding outspoken letter may be read with interest in Portugal, where Sr. Estevão was the hero of the popular party; and to whose memory his admiring countrymen have erected a statue in front of the legislative Chambers.

Saldanha did not retire from the Ministry; and, shortly after this, he strongly advised the Queen to visit the northern provinces of the kingdom. Accordingly, on the 15th of April, their Majesties, accompanied by their two sons, D. Pedro and D. Luiz, commenced a tour which led to their acquaintance with many of the most beautiful parts of Portugal; and, at the same time, brought about the object of the Marshal's desire; which was, to render their Majesties known to and esteemed by their subjects.

The Queen travelled in an open carriage, whilst Sr. D. Fernando; the two young princes; with the Marshal and their attendants; followed at some distance on horseback. On one occasion, approaching the town of Vianna, the Queen stopped her carriage, in a small village, until Sr. D. Fernando and his party should overtake her. The men were absent at work; but the women of the village immediately collected around the carriage, and began to talk with her Majesty, and whisper amongst themselves. On a sudden, one woman exclaimed, "Oh there he is, there he is, I shall see him once more." "Who is it," exclaimed the Queen, "that you are so anxious to see?" "It is our Saldanha," many of them cried out. "Why," observed the Queen, "are you all so fond of Saldanha?" "Oh he is so good; he is the father of the people," said many,

voices: "and now," exclaimed one, "we shall love him all the more, because he has brought our Queen to see us."

The royal party returned to Mafra on the 1st of June.

As an instance of Saldanha's desire to respect and enforce those constitutional principles which he had been so mainly instrumental in planting in Portugal, we offer the following anecdote.

After the Coup d'Etat, which took place in France on the 2nd of December, many republicans from that country sought refuge in Portugal. Amongst some others of celebrity, was M. Front. On their arrival at Lisbon, the French Envoy, the Marquis de Lisle, sought Saldanha, and endeavoured to persuade him to order these political refugees to quit the country; declaring that he did not consider his life safe amongst so many republicans. Saldanha replied; that if it were only in remembrance of the hospitality he had himself received from France, he should be unwilling, on account of their political opinions, to refuse an asylum to foreigners: but that he should, on a higher principle, allow them to remain unmolested. For Portugal was a constitutional country; and, as such, would afford shelter to all who sought it, so long as they gave no offence to the laws which protected them.

The great feature of Saldanha's Administration was the legislative promulgation of the celebrated "ACTO ADDICIONAL." This prudent measure laid at rest from that day, and for ever, all further contests whether the Charter of 1826, or the Constitution of 1820 should be the law of the land.

The "Acto Addicional" was prepared by Saldanha's Ministry with the view of amending such articles of the Charter as were considered to require it. The Act contained 16 Articles. By the 4th, it is declared that the Elections should, henceforward, be *direct*—the Deputy to be chosen immediately by the general mass of electors. Other Articles made alterations in the laws respecting the Cortes; Elections; the Executive Power; Municipal Chambers; and National Property. By the 16th Article, the punishment of death was abolished for political offences.*

* Capital punishment is no longer inflicted for any crime in Portugal. The consequences are sad; but no Minister has the courage to propose a

On the 24th of July, the Chambers were dissolved. They were to reassemble on the 1st of December: but a royal Decree deferred their meeting until the 2nd of January.

A simple Decree, dated August 30th, increased the number of Cabinet Ministers, by the creation of a Ministry of Public Works.

On the 31st of October, Saldanha was elected an honorary Member of the Oporto Commercial Association, "For the important services which he had rendered to commerce."

In the following month, the Duke da Terceira was sent to England to attend the funeral of the Duke of Wellington; and, by a Decree dated November 10th, the Portuguese army was ordered to go into mourning for the illustrious warrior during three days.

The reader may recollect that when Saldanha entered Oporto in April 1851, he made various promotions in the name of the Queen. These, and all other measures which he had taken, were at once approved of by her Majesty before his arrival at Lisbon. The promotions, which the peculiar circumstances of the occasion had made necessary, were much discussed at the time; and now, certain officers of the 5th Military Division, incited by the opponents of the Government, made an attempt, in a northern province, to get up for signature, a remonstrance against these promotions. This breach of discipline having reached the ears of the Marshal, Commander-in-Chief, he immediately addressed the following very explicit letter to the Minister of War.

"LISBON, *February 11th*, 1853.

"MY DEAR BARON,

"Speak in time to Guerreiro that he may write to Traz-os-Montes to-day. Tell him that the *requerimento* which, I am told, is being signed there with respect to the promotions

return to the just reward for murder. On the 9th of May, 1870, an ex-Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Sr. Vieira de Castro, barbarously murdered his wife in a fit of jealousy, and immediately gave himself up to justice. On which, a French writer observed: "De quel droit cet *humanitaire* refusait-il à la société le droit de retirer la vie aux criminels, pour se l'accorder à lui-même avec préméditation et de sang-froid?"

of the 28th and 29th of April is an insult to the dignity, and to the person of the Commander-in-Chief: that I never put up with insults even from crowned heads; and still less will I put up with them from my subordinates: that I am firmly resolved —and I swear it on my sword—that all those who sign such a document become instruments of the Cabral faction, and shall be removed from active service. Whatever their number may be, I shall have no fear of the result; even if I have to remove them, from the Colonel downwards to the lowest ensign. If they wish to be revolutionists, they will find me not less so. The sergeants shall take the command of companies, and, if necessary, even of their regiments. We have no longer a *deficit:* we are certain henceforward to pay to the very day; and it would not be fair that a large number of Cabral emissaries, removed from active service, should defeat these payments. Consequently, those removed would form a separate class to be paid when the Minister of Finance can do so without disturbing the regular payment of those in active service. If they should give us any trouble in the provinces, we have Portuguese colonies; and three steamers ready to sail at a moment's notice. No one is more tolerant than I am; and, I may say, more forgiving: but I know how to act as a revolutionist against revolutionists.

"Your friend and comrade,

"SALDANHA."

No more was heard of the *requerimento!*

The Marshal had been for some time in delicate health; and on the 6th of March, he underwent an operation for a tumour which had formed on his chest. The author recollects the astonishment which the surgeon expressed, that the Marshal had never winced either under the operation, or during the oft-repeated and very painful application of powdered camphor to the wound.

During the following month, the Marshal was elected Vice President of the Royal Academy of Science; but he felt himself compelled to decline the office on account of the state of his

health; which, he declared in a letter to the Secretary, had occasioned him much suffering during the last five months.

We regret that on account of its great length and other reasons, that we cannot insert a very amusing letter from Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, written, on the 11th of May to the Marshal, who was unable to attend, as Mordomo Mór, the funeral of the young princess,* daughter of the ex-Empress of Brazil. He wrote, in a postscript, that the Queen had been very desirous of his presence; because she was convinced that intrigues would result from his absence even on such an occasion. To which he added his intention to relate only *viva voce* the dialogue between the King and Dr. Kessler † respecting an angry article in the *Revolução de Setembro*, whose authorship, writes Rodrigo with amazement, the Doctor had ascribed to him!!!

That there was little improvement in the Marshal's health, we learn from a note addressed to him by the Queen, at the end of July. Her Majesty writes:

"MEU QUERIDO DUQUE,

"I very much regret that you are no better; but I beg you to take care of yourself, and *especially diet*. . . . I wish I could see you well—for very necessary is it.

"MARIA."

The Court, in July, went to Cintra; and, thence, to Mafra: but the Marshal was unable to attend their Majesties at either residence. From Mafra, a correspondence took place between Sr. D. Fernando and the Marshal; during which, the former, on the 5th of August, expressed some surprise that a pension granted to the widow of Leonel Tavares should have been made a Ministerial proposal—Leonel having become a bitter enemy of the Queen and of the Charter. The country was well aware that Leonel had by his talent, his influence and his writings, during the usurpation of D. Miguel, rendered great service to the Cause of the Queen; the Marshal, therefore,

* She died at Funchal on the 4th of February. † The King's German physician.

defended the act of the Ministry, as having been the result of mature deliberation, and a desire to show that her Majesty's generosity had not required the promptings of any private Member of the House to concede a pension to the widow of a man, who had once served her well, and who had died in poverty.

The Marshal then expressed his opinion, that as the Decrees of the Dictatorship had now received the sanction of the Chambers, the necessity no longer existed which had rendered his retirement from the Ministry impossible; and he, therefore, hoped that the Queen could dispense with his services. He pointed out to his Majesty that the Throne, since 1834, had never been so much respected as at this present time; and that Peace, Order, and Contentment reigned throughout the country. "The people," he continued, "renounce politics, in order to busy themselves with their own affairs. Industry was never so developed. Never were salaries and payments made with so much regularity. The Funds which, during the late administration, never rose beyond 35, are now at 48. It will be easy for my successor to conduct the bark of the State with the same Chart. . . . . .

"The letter which I had the honour to receive from your Majesty the day before yesterday, had a something, I know not what, which afflicted me; and added to the pains I was suffering at the moment of its reception. For many reasons, if your Majesties will name some one to take my place as President of the Council of Ministers, you will do me a favour and a charity."

The Queen would not accept the Marshal's resignation; and a letter immediately afterwards received by him from Sr. D. Fernando assured him how "indispensably necessary" his presence in the Ministry was considered.

At this time, a series of infamous articles against the Home Minister, Sr. Magalhães, had been written and published in a new Journal—*A Imprensa e Lei.* The articles having been brought to the notice of his Majesty, he wrote the following letter, wherein he predicts that even Saldanha himself may some day become the object of their malevolent shafts.

"MAFRA, *August 22nd*, 1853.

"The infamous *debut* of the new paper—*Imprensa e Lei*,—and the manner in which the Home Minister is treated in its loathsome leaders, will not have escaped the Duke's notice. It is evident that those people, or rather those editors, wish by such means to render the presence in the Cabinet of the Councillor of State, Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, impossible: they being well aware, that the strongest edifices totter, the moment their foundations are meddled with. The *basis* of the present condition of affairs is the Duke; but the Duke, on account of his popularity, and because it is not so easy to attack him, is, at present, spared; although they will some day reach him. To do so, they will attack his colleagues little by little, and one by one; and thus shake the edifice. Let us hope that their aims will not be attained; but still, it would have been better that the Home Minister had not allowed such infamies to have reached to such a point. My opinion being, that as it would be both dangerous and impossible to deviate from the present march of affairs, and from the principles which at this moment prevail, it becomes necessary to avoid weakening the actual position. I should be very glad if the Duke would write me his thoughts upon this head; and I trust that he will not mistake the true meaning of my words. I offer my wishes for his restoration to health, which becomes every moment more indispensably necessary.

"F."

To the preceding letter, the Marshal immediately replied as follows:

"CINTRA, *August 23rd*, 1853.

"SIRE,

"I yesterday had the honour of receiving your Majesty's letter, of which the Duke da Terceira was the bearer.

"It was impossible that a generous mind, imbued with the love of justice, as is that of your Majesty, should fail to regret the atrocious manner in which the Home Minister is treated by the Opposition papers. I have not yet seen the new paper

—*Imprensa e Lei;* but I know its editors; and that is sufficient to enable me to appreciate the extent to which they are capable of going. The majority, or, I may say, nearly all its editors have either served with the Home Minister—or have publicly declared themselves his friends—subsequent to the period when the facts they accuse him of took place, and which only now excite their horror.

"Thirty years have passed over since the acts of which they now accuse him were said to have been committed; with the exception of the paltry and ridiculous calumny for which he is, at this moment, prosecuting the *Nacional* of Oporto in a suit which, as the lawyers inform me, will be tried in September. Who can avoid the delays of law? In August, 1851, I prosecuted the editor of the *Estandarte;* but, in spite of the perpetual efforts of my solicitor and counsel, it has hitherto been impossible to get the case decided.

"Among all the accusations brought against the Home Minister, there is but one which has any foundation; but, even in that, he violated no existing law. Supposing there were some foundation for them all: thirty years have now passed by; during which, his conduct, so far from furnishing any handle for his atrocious calumniators to lay hold on, has been unimpeachable; while his political life has been so brilliant, as to enable him to attain the highest posts in the State. No lover of justice can be wanting in esteem for the Home Minister, nor fail to recoil with disgust from his calumniators. A public and private life which, during thirty years, affords nothing for his furious, immoral, and atrocious detractors to find fault with, may well render a man worthy of consideration and esteem, in spite of such raked up charges.

"An unfortunate event * arose from the repeated assertions made to the officers of the garrison of Lisbon by the sons of a lady occupying a high position at Court. It was believed that the Queen objected to the troops being marched into Spain. The unwarrantable conduct of D. Carlos de Mascarenhas, in the Square at Alcantara, pretending that he wished to kiss her

* In 1836.

Majesty's hand, gave to his officers an opportunity of presenting their remonstrances. This was the origin of all the revolutions which followed, and of the many dangers your Majesties have encountered; and of the misfortunes which, for so many years, have oppressed us. Immediately afterwards, came the revolution of 1836; and, from that time onwards, instead of a national Administration, we have had nothing but party government. Party Governments, if they wish to maintain themselves in power, must not only be unjust but persecuting. Those they persecute and treat with injustice, however upright or talented they may be, seek a remedy by means of secret societies; and revolts and revolutions follow in consequence. This, Sire, is the reason why, in the space of fifteen years, we have had fourteen revolts and revolutions. Is it possible, I will ask, that any nation, under such circumstances, can hope to preserve its independence?

"It was after meditating upon the wretched condition we had reached; and seeing before me the abyss which was ready to engulph the Throne, the Dynasty, and our Independence; that I desired to establish a national Government—one independent both of party spirit and of the monied interest;—and this I undertook at the risk of my life; and of that which is even dearer to me—my reputation and the future of my family.

"And what opinion would your Majesties and Monarchical Europe have formed of me, if I had failed in April 1851?

"I had then some difficulty in finding those who would coincide with my ideas. Even my present colleagues considered them Utopian: and it was only after the election of the present Chamber of Deputies that they came to compliment me upon their realization.

"The result of the system we have followed is well known. Political passions are now almost dormant. They only sparkle, at times, in the breasts of a discontented few. But the moment that confidence is withdrawn from the present Administration —we must not deceive ourselves—they would burst into flames; and, probably, with unprecedented force. Peace, prosperity, and progress would disappear with the foundations

on which they are built. It would be, therefore, a serious fault on my part; nay more, it would be a crime against the Nation, did I suffer myself to be influenced by accusations brought against one of my colleagues by the organs of an Opposition, so virulent, calumnious, and immoral; which represents no party, but is simply a group of men whom the Nation detests, and against whom, if they came into power, the whole mass of the people would rise.

"For these considerations, I declare myself in complete accordance with your Majesty. I consider it important not to weaken the ministerial edifice. My three colleagues are men; and, therefore, have their defects like other men. But they are honest, and thoroughly devoted to your Majesties and to the cause of their country. They are completely independent of party feeling, and of the influence of Clubs; and I am firmly resolved either to continue with them in office, or quit it should they do so.

"I have obeyed your Majesty's orders by a candid reply. I may assure your Majesty that I understand your letter in its true sense; and with sincere gratitude I kiss your Majesty's hand; and am, etc.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

The King, in reply, after thanking the Marshal for his letter, expressed his hope of seeing the country happy, prosperous, and free from further brawls; and concluded with his best wishes for the speedy and complete restoration of the Marshal's health.

This wish, unfortunately, was not gratified; for, two months later, we find in a letter from Sr. Magalhães, dated October 20th, that his illness was causing serious apprehensions to his colleagues and to the country. This Minister urged him to come to Lisbon; and he proposed that the Government should send to France for some eminent surgeon to examine the state of the Marshal's wound, which was being treated by the Raspail system.

As a proof how highly the Emperor Napoleon appreciated the state of order and quiet which the Marshal had succeeded

in establishing in Portugal, and the prosperity to the country which had resulted therefrom, his Imperial Majesty, on the 13th of October of this year (1853) conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour.

A very unexpected blow now fell upon the Nation. On the 15th of November, the Queen, D. Maria II., in the 35th year of her age, and in the 20th of her reign, died suddenly. The Marshal, on the news of her illness, made an effort to come to Lisbon from Bemfica, and was able to attend the dying moments of his Sovereign.

No greater proof can, perhaps, be given of the many excellent qualities which adorned the Queen, than the universal regret which attended her loss. Since that day, the author, who resides in Portugal, has never heard a word expressed, nor seen a line written, to her disparagement. Her failings or weaknesses may have been those almost inherent to her exalted station; and to the very trying and peculiar circumstances in which she was so often placed. As a wife, and as a mother, her conduct was exemplary and irreproachable.

Amongst the many and familiar notes which, at various times, the Queen wrote to the Marshal, we find the following. At the period to which it refers, he was in the habit of going almost nightly to the Palace, when their Majesties were alone. His absence, on one occasion, led to the note we refer to.

"MEU QUERIDO DUQUE,

"As you did not come last night, I beg you will appear to-day about 12 o'clock; and that you will persuade the King to go to-morrow to the Bull-fight. When you come, I will tell you why I am so anxious about going to the Bull-fight. We shall be to-night at the French theatre. Do not fail to come to us.

"MARIA."

There is a touching simplicity in these few lines, in which the Sovereign of the country seeks the aid of her Minister to persuade her husband—but still her subject—to attend the national amusement. They bear witness to the deference

which the Queen well knew was always paid by her royal Consort to the Marshal's expressed wishes, as well as her obedience and devotion to that husband, whose authority was, to her, supreme, except where her duties as a Sovereign Queen were concerned. The Marshal often observed to the author that never, even in the privacy of domestic life, had he seen a more happy and devoted husband and wife.

It had formerly been the custom in Portugal for the royal children to occupy separate apartments; and they were brought up almost as strangers to one another. The late Queen educated hers to know and to love each other. But, though indulgent, her children were never spoiled. It happened that one of the young Princes had played a practical, but infantile, joke on a servant of the royal household. This having come to the knowledge of the Queen, she sent for the boy and obliged him, in her presence, to beg the man's pardon for the trifling affront.

On one of those nightly occasions of the Marshal's visits to the Palace, when, probably, the outside world imagined he was there to discuss the weighty policy of the country, the Queen was working at her embroidery, whilst Sr. D. Fernando was turning over his classical drawings, or his fine etchings by Rembrandt and other great masters. They had taken tea in the Queen's boudoir, which contained three chairs of different patterns, distinguished by their respective names of Queen's, King's and Marshal's chair. On a sudden, her Majesty exclaimed: "We are going to put your sincerity to a proof. You must tell me all my faults; and, after that, those of my husband." "Willingly," returned the Marshal; "But your Majesty's desire reminds me of Madame de Maintenon —after her marriage with Louis XIV.—and the Archbishop of Cambrai. Wishing, perhaps, to put the virtuous Fenelon's sincerity to a test, Madame de Maintenon insisted on his noting down in detail all the faults which he had observed in her character. The Archbishop complied; and did so with every consideration due to her exalted position. Madame de Maintenon, so far from resenting any hurt to her self-love, became still more attached to the good Archbishop. I will obey your Majesty; but with two conditions. The first is, that

you follow the example of Madame de Maintenon: the second, that your Majesty will afterwards point out my own defects." The Marshal assured the author that the Queen had loyally followed the example of Madame de Maintenon; and he added, with a laugh, that he had no reason to dispute her Majesty's *sincerity*, when she entered upon the catalogue of his own failings.

At the Queen's death, the King Consort became Regent during the minority of his eldest son, born on the 16th of September, 1837.

One of the first letters written by the King Regent to the Marshal was to condole with him on the death of his son-in-law, Count de Tavarede, which took place on the 25th of November. His Majesty concluded, by earnestly begging the Marshal to take care of his own health; and to remember how necessary were his services to the Throne and to the country.

On the 12th of December, a vacancy having occurred amongst the Councillors of State, Saldanha again was appointed to resume the seat he had resigned in 1850.

At the commencement of the year 1854, Count de Thomar, having returned to Portugal, took his seat in the House of Peers. The illness of the Marshal not allowing him to be present during an attack which was made against him, in his ministerial capacity, by the Count, his political conduct was ably and successfully defended by his colleague, Sr. Magalhães.

The Marshal remained at Lumiar, near Lisbon. "For 18 months—less 8 days—" he wrote, "have I been suffering constant pains in the chest." In a letter to Sr. Frederico, he declares how impossible it will be that he should ever recover his health, while he has all the fatigues and vexations of the Ministry to encounter.

It may be mentioned that, about this time, the future King of Portugal, D. Pedro V. together with his brother, D. Luiz, visited London, Paris, and various cities on the Continent; where, by their agreeable manners and extensive information, they gained the esteem and acquired the friendship of the Sovereigns and persons of distinction with whom they came in contact.

The prophetic warning which Sr. D. Fernando had given to Saldanha, in his letter of the 22nd of August; that not even *his* popularity and exalted character would preserve him from the attacks of his political enemies, when they found the moment opportune, was now about to make evident its value and truth.

In the month of August of this year, (1854) curious reports were circulated in the newspapers respecting efforts which had been made to bring about a marriage between the Marshal's son, and a rich heiress in the north of Portugal, daughter of D. Antonia Adelaide Ferreira. It appears, that when the Count de Saldanha was at Oporto with his sister, (the widowed Countess de Tavarede), overtures were made to him for that purpose by relatives of the Ferreira family. It is needless to recount the ridiculous assertions which were made at this time by the Marshal's political enemies; since, at a subsequent period, not only were they totally disproved in Courts of Justice, but we are satisfied that no respectable person ever believed them. It was, however, asserted that the young Count had associated himself with certain individuals (amongst whom were members of the Ferreira family) for the purpose of carrying off the young heiress by force from her mother's house! and that a priest was to be in readiness to marry them on the spot!!! Some Portuguese, and even foreign newspapers made merry on the occasion; and one of the latter thought proper to amuse its readers with an article, headed; "A noble fortune hunter."

If many of the opposition papers seized the occasion to vilify the honoured Marshal, the Press, in general, throughout the country, came forward to do him justice. The *Nacional*, of August 30th, declared itself in opposition—very decided opposition—to the Ministry; but that its political opinions do not lead its Editors to become calumniators; which, they declared, would be the case if they were, under the influence of party feeling, to attribute to the Duke de Saldanha any connivance at such an attempt. The Editor thus concludes: "Let the charge, or the ridicule of it, fall where it may: but let us not grieve the venerable general, who—with every possible political defect we are pleased to ascribe to him—possesses, in the

highest degree, every domestic virtue. As a political personage, we will oppose him; but we must venerate him in private life. Here, the Duke de Saldanha may find those who equal him; but who surpass him—never."

The Marshal, indignant at the absurd charges, condescended to reply to them, in a letter dated from Cintra, on the 13th of October, 1854. He afterwards brought actions against the *Portuguez* and the *Periodico dos Pobres* in the Courts of Lisbon and Oporto, which resulted in the Editors of these papers, Manoel de Jesus Coelho and J. G. d'Almeida Pinto, being found guilty of libel, and sentenced to fines and the payment of costs.

Shortly before these trials, the Marshal addressed the following letter to the King Regent.

"*March 18th*, 1855.

"SENHOR,

"A serious illness which has afflicted me for these last 28 months, induced me, more than a year ago, to declare to my colleagues in the Ministry the necessity of releasing myself from the labours and anxieties attending the post of Minister of War.

"My illness renders my appearance in the Chambers impossible. The absence of a Minister, responsible for a department such as that of War, is a cause of serious inconvenience; and augments considerably the labours of his colleagues. The impracticability of replying in person, for my official acts, increases my sufferings in a manner which it is impossible to describe. The progress of my illness convinces me that recovery is impossible whilst attending to the duties of the War Office.

"For these motives, arising from absolute necessity; but full of profound grief, I beg your Majesty to accept my resignation of President of the Council and Minister of War.

"Your Majesty's, etc. etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

Still were the services of the Marshal deemed indispensable. His name alone was considered as a tower of strength; and he

was persuaded to retain office, however fatal to himself might be the consequences.

About this time, the Grand Cross of the Order of the Saviour was conferred upon him by the King of Greece.

The Marshal had so far recovered his health at this period as to have returned to Lisbon; but as the summer approached he retired with the Duchess and his daughter to Cintra. On the 12th of August, his affectionate and cherished wife was suddenly taken ill, and the family physician was immediately sent for from Lisbon. On his arrival at Cintra, after seeing the Duchess, he declared that she was in no danger; but, at the Marshal's request, he promised to return on the following morning. On that morning, the Marshal, relieved from anxiety, rambled in the grounds around the house, leaving the Duchess to the care of their daughter. On his return, he went at once towards his wife's bedchamber, from which proceeded loud exclamations of grief. Vexed that his daughter should thus give vent to fears, which he considered the assurances of the Doctor were sufficient to dispel, he entered the room, and gently reproached her for disturbing her mother's repose; and causing her, should she awake, to imagine her illness to be serious. "Oh Papa," replied the daughter, "we cannot awake her. Mamma is dead."

It was too true. The excellent Duchess had departed this life in a sweet sleep, free from pain or suffering.

When the Doctor arrived, and was informed, at the gate, of what had occurred, he, without waiting to make further enquiries, returned immediately to Lisbon; and the Marshal never saw him more.

Overwhelmed by domestic affliction; by ill-health; by the virulent attacks of political enemies; and by the cares of state; Saldanha received with real pleasure the following letter from his old and attached friend Lord Howard—one so well able to appreciate the many difficulties which beset him.

"BRUSSELS, *August 28th*, 1855.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"It is an age since there has been an interchange of

letters between us—but I have, nevertheless, watched your success with the greatest interest. You have verified my opinion and prediction; that it was only under your administration that revolutions in Portugal would cease—if FAIR PLAY *were allowed you!!* And this has been, apparently, the case since the departure of L. Philippe from France!! . . . . . .

"With kindest regards from Lady Howard and myself, pray believe me with unvariable attachment,

"Your affectionate friend,

"HOWARD DE WALDEN."

In reply, the Marshal reminded Lord Howard, that, in the course of 15 years, Portugal had been the scene of no less than 14 attempted revolutions and revolts, which had threatened both its liberty and its independence. But that, thanks to the Almighty, it had been proved during these last four years, that order and respect for the Crown are not incompatible with the highest degree of liberty. "The country" wrote the Marshal exultingly, "is prosperous; and it is not in the power of any individual, or party, to disturb public tranquillity."

On the 16th of September, the young King, having attained the age of 18, assumed the regal power, under the title of D. Pedro V. The Marshal could not but regret to see the reins of government pass from the hands of the King Regent into those of so young and inexperienced a monarch. For, often, during the Regency, and many times afterwards, has he been heard to declare, how impossible it would be to find a more fit, and better qualified constitutional Sovereign, than his Majesty D. Fernando.

D. Pedro V. had received an excellent education from his parents, and from the various professors appointed to superintend it. With a good memory united to a love of reading and study, he had, at the age of 18, acquired information and ideas far beyond what could be expected from his youth. Never seen to laugh—seldom to smile—he came to the Throne with an opinion of his duties as a Sovereign more consistent with times gone by than with the present. Speaking to the Marshal of his brothers, he, one day, observed—almost in a

tone of contempt—that * * * would make an excellent *constitutional* king. We must, however, do D. Pedro V. the justice to avow; that if he loved to interfere too much with the acts of his Ministers, or even with the petty details of business, more than his youth or his position warranted, it was always with the generous object of serving his country. From amongst the many notes addressed to the Marshal by D. Pedro, we select three which will exemplify our meaning. The first was written ere D. Pedro had been three months on the throne.

"*December 7th*, 1855.

"MEU CARO DUQUE,

"I should like to see you to-day or to-morrow respecting the project for reforming the veterinary school. It appears to me that it contains much *poetry* (poesias), and excessive liberality on the part of the Government: a liberality which, I fear, will be *en pure perte*. Although the Duke is fond of a little *poetry*, he will, perhaps, agree with me in this.

"PEDRO."

It may be observed, that sterling good sense seldom failed to guide the pen of D. Pedro V. A second note was as follows:

"LISBON, *February 1st*, 1856.

"MEU CARO DUQUE,

"I wish to know the intentions of the Government with respect to the appointment of *Guarda Mór da Torre do Tombo*,* vacant by the death of Viscount de Santarem. Our amiable newspapers abound in conjectures. One of them went so far as to imagine that the Government intended to propose the famous A. Augusto Teixeira de Vasconcellos!! I think such an idea could not easily enter the head of any one. In filling up a post occupied by the Viscount de Santarem, the greatest care is required in the appointment of a successor.

"As soon as I have examined some papers which remained over from yesterday, I shall occupy myself with certain military

* Chief of the Record Office.

affairs which I have in hand: amongst others, the papers I promised to send you respecting recruiting. Believe me, yours,

"PEDRO."

On the 11th of March, the King again wrote:

"MEU CARO DUQUE,

"I have received your letter; and, with it, two from Castilho.* You know I am not an admirer of that method, as I do not search for the marvellous in everything. Nevertheless, that neither the Duke nor Castilho (who, if he were not blind, would have cleared his method of its ridiculous side) shall accuse me of prejudice, I will visit the school before the 14th, and search for the truth with my own eyes: although, in order to judge of a method employed for teaching, it is necessary to have followed its course from the commencement. I return Castilho's two letters.

"I have heard that a very disagreeable occurrence took place in the 10th Regiment; owing, as I hear, to the deduction of 15 reis † from each soldier's pay for the purchase of some registry paper, with which, according to the new regulation, every man must be provided. It is desirable that such scenes should not be repeated; and that the soldiers should be informed respecting the nature of deductions they may have to suffer. I also beg you to ascertain the reason why, in the 1st Infantry, the mess bills are of so small amount. For God's sake, let not the soldiers suffer unjust and useless deductions; especially at a time when every act is criticised for political purposes.

"If you come here to-morrow, I will give you a little work which I have written about recruits. Believe me always

"Yours very affectionately,

"PEDRO."

Early in March of this year, the Marshal received a letter from General Zavala, Minister for Foreign affairs at Madrid,

* The distinguished blind poet, who was author of a system for teaching children to read.

† Not quite one penny.

which informed him that Queen Isabella had been pleased to confer on him the Collar of the distinguished Order of the Golden Fleece; and that the Insignia which would be forwarded to him was the one lately worn by the deceased Emperor of Russia, Nicholas.

The following is a faithful copy of the letter written by the Queen of Spain, and addressed to Saldanha on this occasion.

"AU PALAIS DE MADRID, *le 4 Mars*, 1856.

"MON BON COUSIN: À fin d'effectuer l'élection que J'ai faite de votre personne pour vous associer en l'aimable compagnie de mon très noble et ancien Ordre de la Toison d'Or, J'ai fait dresser mes lettres patentes de procure en vertu desquelles, J'ai requis mon bien-aimé Frère et Cousin le Roi Pierre V. de Portugal et des Algarves, votre Auguste Souverain, de vous recevoir en mon nom dans le dit Ordre, et vous délivrer le Collier aux cérémonies accoutumées; et de tout ce qu'il vous dira de ma part sur ce particulier vous en fairez le même cas comme s'il fût fait et déclaré par ma propre Personne. Je prie Dieu, mon Bon Cousin, qu'il vous aît en sa sainte et digne garde.

"Votre Bonne Cousine,

"AU DUC DE SALDANHA. "ELIZABETH."

At the time when the Marshal received this mark of consideration from the Queen of Spain, the Order was composed of 14 Royal Sovereigns; 16 Royal Princes (including in this number Prince Albert and the Prince of Wales); and 16 other members distinguished by their rank and high position.

Shortly afterwards, Saldanha received from the Emperor of Russia the Insignia of the Order of the White Eagle; a distinction—coming from such a source—which we may consider to be a mark of that Monarch's approval of his government, if not an answer to those who ever pretended to suspect him of revolutionary principles!

We have refrained from discussing the excellent laws passed during this Administration, and of the part which Saldanha

took in parliamentary debates. An account of these would render our work far too voluminous. A Portuguese writer, at a subsequent period (in 1862) observed: "If the ungrateful and the wicked forget his services, the nation will not do so; which sees in the Marshal Duke de Saldanha, the most loyal servant of the Throne, and the most strenuous defender of his country's liberty."

The Marshal had now in a great measure recovered his health, and was taking a more active part, than hitherto, in public affairs, when a ministerial proposal for a loan of £140,000,—to carry out certain public works—although approved of by a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies was rejected in the Upper House. The Ministers informed the King that they had no alternative but to resign, unless by the creation of a number of new Peers.* On the King's refusal to do so, which was attributed to Court intrigues,† the Ministry sent in its resignation, on the 6th of June, 1856.

The Ministry which succeeded Saldanha's was composed as follows:

MARQUIS DE LOULÉ	*President, Foreign Affairs, and Public Works.*
JULIO GOMES DA SILVA SANCHES . . .	*Home.*
ELIAS DA CUNHA PESSOA	*Justice.*
JOSÉ JORGE LOUREIRO	*War, Finance.*
VISCOUNT SÁ DA BANDEIRA . . .	*Marine.*

* At the period we now write (January 1880) Government has just made an addition of twenty-five Peers to the Upper House. A majority in the Lower one seems always obtainable by a new Ministry.

† Lest the English reader should imagine that "Court intrigues" are indigenous to foreign countries, we refer him to a Memorandum made by the late Prince Consort, where allusions to "Court intrigues" and "treachery" are made, when Lord Palmerston resigned office in December 1853. Martin's "Life of Prince Albert," vol. ii., page 534.

CHAPTER XII.

1856—1862.

Saldanha desires to resign the Command-in-Chief—Refusal of the King to accept it—Letter to War Minister—Letters to the author—Saldanha's occupations—He is sought in marriage—Goes to England—Marriage—Returns to Portugal—Congratulations from the King—Reply—Domestic happiness—Writes on "Faith"—Speculations—Resigns the Command-in-Chief—His reasons—Regret of the army—Protestations of his successor—Remarkable consideration shown to Saldanha—He advocates Homœopathy—Order of the Lion conferred—Death of Magalhães—Marriage of D. Pedro V.—Saldanha's work on Homœopathy—Controversy with the Court Physician—His opinion upon the state of the country—He declines active opposition—Urged by the King to accept office—He still refuses—New Cabinet—Death of the Queen—Camões—Saldanha visits Carnota—Attains his 70th year—Great meeting at the Rocio—Public discontent—Saldanha seriously ill—Visited by D. Pedro—A relapse—Death of the King and his brothers—Accession of D. Luiz I.—Saldanha recovers—Changes in the Cabinet—King marries—Fresh honours conferred on Saldanha—He accepts the Embassy to Rome.

As the new Ministers had declared their intention of following the policy of the late Government, it was with no hostile feeling that Saldanha, on the day of his exoneration from office, requested to be relieved from the Command-in-Chief of the army. He wrote as follows to the Minister of War.

"LISBON, *June 6th*, 1856.

"ILL^MO E EX^MO S^R,

"When I accepted the Command-in-Chief, it was with the firm determination to hold it only so long as I should continue to be Minister of War: and having this moment received the Decree of exoneration from that office, I beg your Excellency to lay before his Majesty my request to be equally exonerated from the Command I hold.

"Having no fear that any political opponent will attribute

this determination to a desire to create difficulties at the moment of a Ministerial change; and thoroughly persuaded of the well disciplined state of the army, I insist upon my retirement. But, in order to avoid all possibility of my motives being misinterpreted, I am willing to continue the command until Wednesday, the 20th of this month, if, on that day, your Excellency will present the Decree of exoneration for the royal signature. God grant, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA.

"P. S.—No one has any knowledge of this note, which is written by myself."

The Ministers employed every possible argument to persuade the Marshal to retain the command; and, towards the 20th of the month, the War Minister, in a final appeal, wrote to express his fear that the Marshal was influenced by motives personal to himself; but to this Saldanha replied, assuring him of the friendship and esteem he entertained for him personally.

We offer in the Marshal's own words a recapitulation of the recent occurrences; and of the reasons which led him, to retain, for some time longer, the Command-in-Chief. The letter was addressed to the author at Carnota.

"CINTRA, *June 26th*, 1856.

"MY DEAR ATHELSTANE,

"I will begin by telling you that your strawberries arrived in perfection. It was D. Fernando's name-day.* I had the honour of dining with the royal family in their private apartments; and the King, D. Pedro, declared that your strawberries from Carnota were the best he had ever tasted.

"I am now at leisure. We were certain of being in a minority in the Peers; and we begged to be authorized to declare that, in case of necessity, we would create a sufficient number of Peers to pass our financial measures. But, notwithstanding the importance of the question; the great majority we had in the Deputies in favour of the measure; and even the

* May 30th.

wishes of the Crown—so often declared to us—the King refused: and we retired. I was obliged to work hard to form a new Ministry; and they have declared in the Chambers, that they have but one course to pursue—which is the one we established. The Count de Lavradio has written to say, that it was Lord Palmerston's opinion, that five years was the longest period that an Administration could last in a constitutional country. I was Prime Minister five years and fifteen days.

"Of course I also sent in my resignation as Commander-in-Chief. Not to contravene the law, an Act had been passed every year, with the approval of a great majority, that the command should be continued to the Duke de Saldanha—but to no other. The King is also of opinion that, in a constitutional country, a Commander-in-Chief should not be allowed. However, I resisted during 16 days; but, at the end, was obliged to give way. During those 16 days, the two Kings, and everybody, insisted that I should continue at the head of the army; and, at last, the whole of the Ministers came to my house, and declared that, from thence, they would go to the Palace and tender their resignations, if I did not yield. Viscount Luz was sent from the King to tell me that his Majesty had resolved not to sign the *Carta Regia*, exonerating me from the command of the army; but would sign a Decree appointing anyone I would name as Minister of War. It would have shown obstinacy not to give way after such a message, and such a declaration from the Ministers. So here I am; still Commander-in-Chief; and, therefore, not able to go to London and to Paris as I intended. I proposed going by the next packet; and was about to ask you for the address of Charlotte and Louisa, that I might go and see them on my arrival. It is possible that I may be able to go in October. How are your sisters? And Mrs. Athelstane? My best compliments. Adeos.

"Truly yours,

"SALDANHA.

"P. S.—Remember me to Antonio. How is the poor boy?"*

* Son of the author's gardener. He had caught a very severe ague in a distant neighbourhood where he had been employed. The kind Marshal, on

On the 9th of July, the Marshal again wrote to the author, declaring, that, as soon as Parliament was closed, he was determined to go and see his old friends in London; and he added: "I feel very lonely. How many years have gone by since I saw Mrs. Binns!* Is the name properly written? . . . My best compliments to Mrs. Athelstane. I am sorry for poor Antonio. If the father wishes, he may come back. It is hoped the Chambers will close on the 15th. If so, I mean to go by the packet of the 19th. You ask me what I do at Cintra. I go to bed at nine: get up at four: walk, read, and write. I have only German books here."

The reader may have concluded that the "loneliness" which the Marshal felt, implied a desire to seek a companion. His only son was married, and resided in the provinces. His daughter was remarried, and was absent from the country. He had not been long a widower, before proposals of marriage were showered upon him. Fathers came to offer their daughters with tempting promises of fortune. Priests represented ladies of riper age: while the still more mature, boldly, both in person and by letter, recommended themselves. One forlorn lady of the latter class, having neither fortune nor charms to offer, pleaded her ability to nurse the Marshal when ill, and to prepare his *gemmadas*.† How the good Marshal laughed when he confided to the author the name of this matrimonial applicant. Poor lady: he outlived her many years.

His intention of visiting England, and the object of it, was not declared until the last moment. But it being necessary to obtain the royal permission for leave of absence from the country, the Marshal proceeded to the Palace. Permission having been granted, he made known that he had another favour to ask of his Majesty; which was—for permission to

hearing of this, suggested a change of air for the boy, and had him for some time at his house in Lisbon.

* Mrs. Binns, widow of Dr. Binns, is one of the young ladies, sisters of the author, referred to in Chapter VII. of this biography. Mrs. Binns after her marriage, resided for many years in the West Indies; and only on one occasion, when in England for her health, had she met the Marshal and his family, in 1846, on his return from the Mission at Vienna.

† A Portuguese strengthening potion composed of milk, sugar, and yolk of eggs.

marry! * The King immediately enquired if it were necessary to leave the country for that purpose. On this, Saldanha replied; that, as yet, he had not made known his intentions to the lady in question; nor to her brother; nor to any one. But that from the recollection he had of a lady, who was now a widow, and whom he had known almost from her childhood, but had not seen for many years, he had determined to offer her his hand and name; provided that, on his arrival in London, he should not find her so changed as to be wearing a wig! D. Pedro, who, as we have stated, was never *seen* to laugh, was *seen*, by the Marshal, for once to do so. The association of ideas created in the mind of his Majesty—by the Marshal's calm determination of making his future happiness depend on whether the woman of his choice should be found wearing a wig—completely overcame the royal equanimity; and Saldanha recounted that the stern D. Pedro literally writhed with laughter.

The Marshal arrived in London on the 24th of July—a Thursday. He wrote to the author that he had not been able to see his sister until the following Sunday. She was out of town. He had followed her; but found she had returned to London. When the meeting did take place, the proposal was soon made, and as quickly accepted. There was no *wig* to mar their happiness!

On the 30th, the Marshal left London for Paris—where he expected to meet with Cardinal Wiseman—in order to procure the dispensation required in England for a mixed marriage. But the Cardinal being absent; to avoid delay, it was decided that the marriage should take place in France, in which country the regulations of the Catholick Church, on this subject, are less stringent.

The 1st of September had, at first, been fixed for the ceremony; but it was deferred until the 12th, in consequence of an unexpectedly required authorization from the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon.

* Noblemen, in Portugal, require the royal permission, either to absent themselves from the country or to marry.

The Marshal wrote to the author on the 1st of August: "I love Amalie and Ellen as if they were my own children.* You who know me will readily believe it. I hope, with the blessing of God, I shall make them all as happy, as we can be in this world; and I have no doubt that Charlotte's hand will be the reward of my constant exertions to make happy our dear and ever respected departed friend." Again he wrote on the 5th of September: "We are all joy and contentment. I do not believe that ever man and woman married with more, and such sure, confidence that we shall make the happiness of each other. You know your sister as well as I do; and therefore cannot think that I exaggerate."

Very urgently had the Marshal wished for the author's presence at his marriage; but the delicate state of his wife's health prevented him leaving his home at Carnota.†

The Marshal wrote from S. Germain, on the 13th of September: "I am the happiest of men. By this, you will conclude that the marriage has taken place. Yes, dear brother, yesterday the ceremony was performed. First at the English Embassy by the Rev. Dr. Hale, according to the Protestant rite; and, immediately afterwards, at the Portuguese Legation by the Curé of Passy."

After some stay in France and England, the Duke and Duchess embarked at Southampton for Lisbon, where they arrived on the 14th of November. The author's painful position rendered him unable, in person, to congratulate his sister and brother-in-law; but the Marshal was privately made acquainted with the reason through the kindness of Sr. D. Pedro, who sent an Aide-de-Camp on board for that purpose. As our wives had been friends from childhood, he determined to communicate the sad intelligence with caution. Moreover, his birthday being on the 17th, he resolved to conceal it until the day following; as he felt unwilling that a gloom should be

* Amalie is married to Mr. F. Goulburn Walpole. Ellen died young at Paris, where she remained, after her mother's marriage, to complete her education.

† Mrs. Athelstane died there on the 7th of November.

thrown on his first birthday after their marriage by his wife receiving, in mourning, the congratulations of his numerous friends and relations.

When D. Pedro knew from the Marshal that his marriage had taken place, he wrote very kindly in reply; but concluded his letter with the following melancholy view of the task he had before him.

"After a year of continual labours, and without any probability of seeing them diminish—rather indeed with the certainty of their daily increase—do not wonder if I envy you. In Portugal, one forgets and unlearns much that one has seen in other countries: and, from the difficulty of improvement, there springs a kind of despair; into which, I am, nevertheless, far from falling, and from which I pray God to deliver me.

"I beg you to believe in the sincerity with which I subscribe myself Your very affectionate friend,

"PEDRO."

Consoling to D. Pedro must have been Saldanha's reply. He wrote:

"Delicate and laborious, most undoubtedly, is your Majesty's high mission; but, for that reason, the more glorious will be its results; of which no one can doubt, who, like myself, is acquainted with your Majesty's numerous good qualities—already appreciated throughout Europe—your love of justice, the first of all virtues; and your ardent desire to improve the moral and financial position of our country by the maintenance of those liberal institutions which are so essential to its progress. Let me assure your Majesty that the firm conviction I have of this, is to me a source of great consolation.

"Since I left Lisbon, nearly three months ago, I have been in complete ignorance of what has occurred in the political world. This, coupled with the fact that I have not perused a single Portuguese newspaper, places me in a position, which of itself may be considered enviable. God grant that I may continue to live unconnected with public affairs; in the enjoyment of a tranquil mind; and of those pleasures of domestic happiness which I now possess."

Happy in this domestic life, now that he had returned to Portugal, the Marshal hoped to live retired from politics, although he still retained the office of Commander-in-Chief; and had recently been induced to accept that of Vice-President of the Chamber of Peers. The Presidential chair was occupied by the Cardinal Patriarch.

In the month of January 1857, he was installed a Member of the very noble Order of the Golden Fleece, accompanied by all the solemn ceremonies usual on such an occasion.

It was about this time that the Duchess expressed her wish to enter the Catholick Church. She had already, previous to her marriage with the Marshal, reflected much on the subject, as her first husband, some time before his death, had become a convert. This determination gave great satisfaction to the Marshal; and the Duchess was received into the Church in the private Chapel of the Infanta D. Isabel Maria, who, together with his Majesty, D. Pedro, were sponsors on the occasion.

How many may still recollect this period of the Marshal's joyous life, when freedom from the cares of office seemed to have taken from him twenty years of his age. On one day was he to be seen on his gallant charger, accompanied by his wife and daughter, and a numerous cavalcade of Aides-de-Camp and Orderlies, with friends who joined the *cortège*, riding through the streets of Lisbon and its suburbs. On another, he sought more privacy by driving himself and wife in a small light open carriage, unattended even by a groom. The evenings were passed either at the theatre; or at home, surrounded by numerous friends. During this period of happiness we have little to say which concerns the subject of our biography; for it may be remarked of private life as of history; that the times are the best to live in, and the happiest, of which there is little to write about. From politics, Saldanha returned to his favourite pursuits of literature; and, on the 17th of May, he published, as the result of his reflections, a few lines on "Faith," in which he combats the errors of Voltaire and Rousseau.

At this period certain persons of a speculating character sought the Marshal and persuaded him to join them in various Companies which, they pretended, were to be highly remunera-

tive to themselves and beneficial to the country. One of these was the "Companhia Luso-Hispanhola" of which we know no more than that we have before us many receipts, each for a monthly payment of £133. 6s. 8d., with which the Marshal entered as a shareholder.

Of another Company we know somewhat more, as the Marshal took the trouble to explain its object. He informed the author, with great satisfaction, that he himself was the principal shareholder in it; and that he held paid-up shares to the amount of £4000; besides some which he had presented to his step-daughter. He believed that, ere long, they would return from two to three hundred per cent; and, animated by that generous intent of assisting others, which characterized every act of his life, he rubbed his hands with glee, exclaiming: "Não haverá parentes pobres." *

The object of this Company, which took the name of "Guano chimico de Peixe," was to found a vast establishment on the opposite side of the river Tagus; and fabricate endless quantities of "artificial guano" from the fish caught on the coast. The agriculture of Portugal was to assume another appearance with such boundless supplies of manure! The author suggested a doubt whether the supply of fish would be equal to the supposed demand; and he remarked that, even if it were, the experiment had already been tried in countries whose coasts abounded with fish, and had failed. But the too credulous Marshal would listen to no objections. This Company was carried on for several years: indeed, so long as the capital invested and the receipts it produced were sufficient to pay its Directors and working expenses. But no dividend was ever forthcoming; and the Company was eventually wound up with the loss to the shareholders of their whole capital.

Considering his position anomalous, the Marshal, for various reasons, again felt himself compelled to insist upon resigning the Command-in-Chief of the army. He wrote to D. Pedro, on the 12th of July, observing that, during the sitting of the Chambers, various members had objected to the continuance of

* A Portuguese expression which implies that, by an expected stroke of good fortune, the recipient will be enabled to enrich all his poor relations.

that command during a time of peace. He had not, he said, until now, sent in his resignation, in order that it might not appear as if he feared discussion, should the subject be brought before Parliament: but that as, yesterday, the Chambers were closed, and, before separating, had voted the supplies necessary for the continuance of the Command, this motive now no longer existed. He declared that he could not consent to hold the appointment, after its continuance in time of peace had been pronounced unconstitutional: and that, even if he were convinced that from the present Ministry there could accrue glory to his Majesty; honour and advantage to the country; dignity and strength to representative government; he should still insist on his exoneration. In a private letter to Viscount de Sá, Minister of War, he gave further reasons for this determination, which were just, and dictated by an honourable feeling. He wrote:

"I am at this time concerned in the direction of three Companies: the Luso-Hispanhola copper mines: one for the fabrication of guano: and the coal and iron mines of Leiria. I may often, in these circumstances, have occasion to address myself to the Government; and, should I have to apply in the name of these Companies for some concession, would I not appear as one who went on the high road to solicit alms with a pistol in his hand? However just and reasonable might be my application, however humble my language, might I not be calumniated? And furthermore; might there not be a Minister weak enough to deny us justice, for fear it might be said of him, that his conduct was influenced by consideration for the Commander-in-Chief?

"Here, my dear Viscount, and good friend, you have the reason why I again insist that you will present my Official of the 12th to his Majesty."

In compliance with this request, the King, on the 18th, signed the Decree of Saldanha's exoneration, with very complimentary expressions respecting his services, and the excellent state of discipline which he had preserved in the army.

We have omitted to mention that before the Marshal quitted the Ministry, on the 6th of June 1856, he had prepared a

measure for the abolition of corporal punishment in the army and navy. It did not pass the two Chambers until the 14th of the following month, nor receive the royal sanction until the 21st. But the project originated from Saldanha towards the close of his administration.

This measure has been found to work well in Portugal: and if flogging is considered necessary as a punishment in the British army and navy, it is certainly objectionable in a country where military service is compulsory.

On relinquishing the command, the Marshal, in an address to the generals, officers, and soldiers of the army, thanked them for their cordial co-operation during the six years he had held it. He expressed the satisfaction he felt in belonging to an army in which he had now served 53 years; and he declared his conviction, that it would always be ready to prove its loyalty to the King and devotion to the country; and to maintain the Constitutional Charter.

Among the many letters which the Marshal received from officers of all ranks, expressing regret at his retirement from the command, not the least significant was one from his former political adversary, Ferreri, who had served as Minister of War, in 1849—1851, in the Thomar Cabinet. He expressed his heartfelt thanks for the Marshal's benevolence, to which he owed his present honourable post. It was in this impartial manner that Saldanha had endeavoured, and so successfully, to unite all parties.

The following extracts are from a letter written by General Count de Sta. Maria, who undertook the duties which the Marshal had relinquished.

"Since your Excellency has so willed it, I have temporarily accepted the command of the army, although with many feelings of sorrow. For I cannot but be aware that such a post ought never to descend from Marshal the Duke de Saldanha to the Count de Sta. Maria, who feels that his strength is inadequate to support so elevated a position. But I shall be enabled to fulfil its duties by maintaining the wise measures you have introduced, and by considering you still, and always, to be the real Commander-in-Chief of the Army. It is only

with your advice and assistance that I can hope to carry out my arduous task . . . . . On account of the great heat, I am unable personally to visit your Excellency; but as our friend, Viscount de Pinheiro, is going to you, I trust that he will convey my regret, and that of all our friends, at your leaving us in a state of orphanage. By myself, I repeat, you will always be considered the Commander-in-Chief; and, as such, I beg you to inform Viscount de Pinheiro of your wishes; for—as I trust you will believe—they shall be executed to the letter."

In reply to Sr. J. B. da Silva Ferrão, who remonstrated with the Marshal for having relinquished politics to associate himself with industrial undertakings, he wrote that he felt proud in endeavouring to render such valuable services to his country; and that, so far from believing they would diminish the glory acquired during half a century, he trusted in God that they would furnish him with a fresh wreath to add to those which he had obtained on the field and in the Cabinet. The publication of Sr. Ferrão's letter, and the reply to it, may, at some future day, throw an additional light on the intrigues which were going forward.

Saldanha having been appointed, by Royal Decree of the 14th of October, President of the "Secção do Contencioso Administrativo do Conselho d' Estado," in the place of José da Silva Carvalho, (deceased), he begged respectfully to decline the office, as his residence at Cintra—permission for which he had received from his Majesty—would render it impossible for him to undertake its duties. But so great was the desire of D. Pedro and his Ministers to have even the *name* of Saldanha associated with their government, that they surmounted this objection, by the King appointing a Councillor of State Extraordinary to fulfil those duties in the Marshal's absence.

On the 26th of November, he addressed a letter to the Marquis de Loulé, then Premier and Minister for the Home Department, urging him to encourage the introduction of the practice of homœopathy into Portugal; and he cited, at considerable length, many cases which served to prove its value and efficacy in the treatment of illness.

The Government having expressed a wish that Saldanha

should be nominated President of the Chamber of Peers, when Parliament re-assembled in January, the Marshal not only declined the proffered honour—which he acknowledged that he might, at one time, have felt ambitious of—but he requested the Marquis de Loulé to obtain his exoneration from the office of Vice-President, which he still held. In consequence of this wish, the King, on the 5th of December, signed a Decree, accepting his resignation.

At the commencement of the year 1858, the King of Holland was pleased to honour the Marshal by decorating him with the Insignia of Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion.

On the 11th of May, Portugal lost one of her most distinguished statesmen and orators—Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães. He was greatly regretted by all parties; and, at his interment, Srs. Fontes and Casal Ribeiro expressed, in eloquent speeches, their admiration of his talent. The King had manifested a grateful desire to confer the title of Viscount on his son; but Magalhães, on his death bed, requested his Majesty not to do so.

A marriage having been arranged between D. Pedro V. and the beautiful Estephanie of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, the Duchess de Saldanha was appointed, shortly before the arrival of the future Queen, to be one of her Majesty's honorary ladies-in-waiting. The marriage was solemnized on the 18th of May.

During the summer, the Marshal had a very narrow escape from an accident which might have been fatal both to himself and to his wife. Returning from Cintra to Lisbon in his little open carriage, unaccompanied by a servant, he was holding the reins somewhat carelessly—while the horses were slowly ascending a hill—and allowed them to slip from his hand by a sudden switch from the tail of one of the animals. He attempted to get down carefully; but as he put his foot on the step, which was not far from the ground, the horses increased their pace, and the Marshal fell. The Duchess immediately sprang after him, and was stunned by the fall. They were both much bruised; and felt the shock for some time afterwards. Fortunately, there were no broken bones.

The Marshal had continued to employ his thoughts and his

pen in favour of Homœopathy, as a system of medicine. The result of his labours was a work of 153 pages, which he dedicated to the King, under the title of "Estado da Medicina in 1858."

In February of the following year, the Court Physician, Dr. Bernardino Antonio Gomes, published a reply, also dedicated to the King, and which was written with no little warmth. Within three days of its publication, the Marshal answered his objections; and there the controversy ended.* In course of time, by his exertions and pecuniary assistance, an homœopathic journal was established in Lisbon; as well as a "Consultario Homœopathico," for which the Marshal, for a long time, not only paid the rent, but allowed a monthly gratuity of £9 to a medical practitioner; with the stipulation, that his services should be given gratuitously to the poor. A writer observed on this occasion: "We believe that there is no heart but which is grateful for the noble thought which guided this illustrious man, so devoted to the welfare of his fellow citizens. With his sword he obtained for them their freedom; with his pen he has enlightened them—loving and protecting all."

The Marquis de Loulé had now presided over the Ministry for two years and five months. On the evening of the 3rd of November, Srs. Joaquim Antonio de Aguiar; A. M. Fontes Pereira de Mello; and Antonio Rodrigues Sampayo, presented themselves at the Marshal's residence for the purpose of persuading him to resume his seat in the House of Peers, and to endeavour to bring about the fall of the Ministry: and they begged him to promise, that if the King shall call him to form a new Cabinet, he would undertake to do so.

Besides the verbal reply which the Marshal gave these gentlemen, he sent a written one on the following day; in order, as he declared, that there should be no ambiguity as to his meaning.

If the picture which he drew of the state of Portugal, within

* On this occasion, the celebrated blind poet, Castilho, congratulated the Marshal on having vanquished his opponent, and on his invulnerability. He wrote: "Adieu, my dear Achilles; warrior, doctor, and author united: but Achilles plunged in the precious water of life from the head down to the very heel inclusively."

three years after he had retired from office, creates astonishment, it must be remembered how little time would be required to return to a system of corruption which had so deeply taken root. The Marshal, during his long administration, had preserved peace; had rendered the Crown and the Charter respected; had made excellent laws; and had largely developed the material interests of the country. But, when he retired, the laws were either disregarded, or were repealed;* and the abuses, which were supposed to have been eradicated, re-appeared to a frightful extent.

"And what," he writes, "is the state of our liberties? Is the country free, when a Ministry, in the name of the King, and by means of the police, selects the Nation's Deputies at will? Is the country free where immorality and licentiousness boldly reign? Where the jury is afraid of the dagger of the assassin? Where highway robbers can be publicly pointed at? And where Members of the Magistracy, even when held in public execration for acts of collusion, yet continue to dispose of the lives and property of their fellow citizens?

"Leaving this vexatious subject, respecting which I might have much to say, in what a state do we not find the various branches of public administration? The legislation upon mortgages is a chaos of which you are well aware. Rural Banks, which have made other countries so prosperous, are, with us, as yet, unknown. And what is the state of public roads? The road from Lisbon as far as Coimbra, which Senhor Fontes † made in a few months, has only been carried a little beyond Sardão during these last two years and a half. . . . . What progress has been made towards the reformation of our prisons? . . . . What has been done to improve our colonies, where thousands who now annually emigrate to Brazil, might be beneficially employed? . . . . What has become of our chari-

* Two examples, in illustration, strike us at this moment. One was a law respecting the plantation of trees on all municipal lands throughout the country; another reduced the tax on the sale of landed property from 10 to 5 per cent. This monstrous tax, so fatal to agricultural enterprise, was quickly restored with additional charges. Planting has ceased.

† Minister of Public Works from 1852 to 1856.

table establishments; our asylums for the deaf and dumb; the blind; . . . . ? Instead of an appearance of these reforms we have, unfortunately, before us that gulph which devours the savings of the poor—that origin of every kind of crime—lotteries! . . . . has any one the courage to form an Administration which will put an end to this state of things? . . . . If so, he may reckon on my assistance: because, in that case, it becomes a duty to offer up the sacrifice of one's self for higher considerations."

The King was not long in discovering that the Ministry was impotent; and that the tranquillity of the country was in danger. He therefore wrote to Saldanha:

"MEU CARO DUQUE,

"With a view of seeing if it be possible to keep on with the present Government, I have thought of the re-establishment of the Command-in-Chief, as the only possible element of strength in the present circumstances.

"The Government pretends that a fresh law would be requisite. But there is a very recent one which authorizes it to reform every branch of service: and the Government has already made considerable use of this law.

"In the midst of the confusion in which we find ourselves, the Government, in order to maintain my own dignity, ought not, for a single day, to delay compliance with my wishes: but, as it has acted differently; and as it is my bounden duty to maintain public order, and to provide for the maintenance of the Constitutional Throne, and the institutions which govern us, I have determined this very day to charge the Marshal Saldanha with the formation of a new Ministry.

"Yours very affectionately,

"PEDRO."

On more than one occasion, at the commencement of D. Pedro's reign, had the Marshal been compelled to tender his resignation when his Majesty hesitated to sign the Official Papers submitted to him. With the remembrance of this, he replied, as follows, to the royal letter:—

"SENHOR,

"Under the system which governs us, the Ministers are alone responsible for the consequences of Royal Decrees. Such a responsibility can but be the necessary consequence of the grand principle that, 'the King reigns, but does not govern.'

"More than once have I had the honour to lay before your Majesty the serious consequences which result from the non-observance of that principle; and have presented, amongst others, the example of Louis Philippe.

"Endowed by Providence with great talent; having received a most careful education; having gained his daily bread, when an emigrant, by imparting to others the knowledge he possessed; he knew his worth, and considered himself, with reason, superior to those by whom he was surrounded. Though animated with a sincere love for his country, he placed himself above his Ministers; depriving them of the free exercise of their powers; and entering with activity into every detail of State affairs. The Government became the government of an individual: Louis Philippe died in exile; after seeing, banished from their country, those princes, who, by their talents and virtues, have obtained the admiration of all who have the honour of knowing them.

"For some time past, it is generally believed that the most trifling affairs, as well as the most important, are not determined by the Ministers, but by your Majesty. That the Minister of War, for example, neither makes a promotion; an order; nor a transfer of an officer from one corps to another; without all the papers being placed before your Majesty for your decision—which decision is often at variance with what had been previously determined at the War Office. No one is ignorant that the Minister of Justice does not induct into the smallest benefice until your Majesty has minutely examined the case. Allow me, therefore, frankly to point out, both from my devotedness to monarchical principles, as well as by the affection I have for your Majesty, that you descend from your high position of King—not to that of a Minister of State—but to the level of the head of a department: for no Minister has leisure to do the work to which your Majesty devotes yourself."

After reciting some examples from English History in confirmation of his principles, the Marshal concluded by declaring; that, on these grounds, he would not accept the charge of forming a Ministry, unless his Majesty unreservedly admitted the principle: that the King reigns; but that the Ministers govern.

After the perusal of the preceding candid opinions, it will, perhaps, not create surprise that the Marshal was *not* called upon to form a Ministry: but, on the 16th of March, 1859, Loulé and his colleagues having resigned; the Duke da Terceira took office as Prime Minister, with the Portfolios of War and Foreign affairs. Sr. Fontes, who had served with Saldanha from 1851 to 1856, took the Home Department; Srs. Ferrão; Casal Ribeiro; and Serpa Pimentel, who had never before held Office, took those of Justice, Finance, and Public Works; whilst the Marine Portfolio was entrusted to Sr. A. M. G. Ferreri, who had served as Minister of War with Count de Thomar from 1849 to 1851.

In the following May, the Marshal was appointed President of the Committee of General Officers to prepare a plan for the defence of the country, and of the Capital.

On the 17th of July, the whole Nation united with the King in mourning the loss of the virtuous Queen, D. Estephania; who, during the short period of her life in Portugal, seems fairly to have merited the title of "Angel of Charity," which was universally bestowed upon her.

On the 26th of April of the following year (1860), the country had to regret the death of the amiable Duke da Terceira. His place as President of the Council was supplied, on the 1st of May, by Sr. J. A. de Aguiar, who retained Office only until the 4th of July; when the Marquis de Loulé was again called upon to form a Ministry.

In the month of June, a Circular was issued for the purpose of raising funds, by subscription, to erect a monument to the greatest of Portuguese poets—Luiz de Camões. A committee was appointed of which the Duke de Saldanha became President; and by their efforts a statue was finally erected to the memory of the immortal bard.

One of the Circulars having been addressed to the Count de

Thomar, who, at this time, was acting as Minister Plenipotentiary at Rio, his reply led to a correspondence between himself and the Marshal, which, in the course of time, completely restored the former friendly understanding between these political adversaries.*

Towards the end of October, the Press diverted itself with surmises respecting the sudden retirement of the Marshal from Lisbon, and his visit to the author at his Quinta da Carnota, in the neighbourhood of Alemquer. It was unnecessary to seek further motive than a desire to be free from the intrigues at Court, and the solicitations of those who would engage him to take an active part in politics. The Marshal, with his wife and step-daughter, enjoyed, at Carnota, two months of uninterrupted quiet; during which time, on the 17th of November, he completed his 70th year. On that day, the Emperor of Austria conferred on him the Imperial Order of Leopold.

We pass rapidly over this period, of which we have little to say respecting the Marshal, except that all eyes were turned towards him as the future Minister. A great meeting, promoted by the Masonic Lodges,† of which the Marquis de Loulé

* When, in 1867, the Statue was ready to be placed on its pedestal, a letter was addressed to the Marshal by the Secretary of the Committee which had carried out the undertaking, wherein he was requested to appoint the day for its public inauguration. The Marshal was reminded that to him was owing the glory of raising a monument to the memory of the illustrious poet; a duty which, as was observed, had in vain been attempted by the Duke de Palmella; Viscount de Santarem; and others.

"To your Excellency," writes Sr. Santiago, "is due, by right, the honour of presenting to his Majesty the silken cord with which he will draw aside the curtain, and unveil to public view this monument of national gratitude towards the prince of our poets."

† Shortly after the introduction of Masonic Lodges into Portugal, they became secret societies for political purposes. João Carlos became a member at a very early age; having been admitted by a special resolution of the Lodges. The Marshal, in after life, acknowledged that they had been of great service in overturning despotism; but that, from the day on which a Constitutional Charter had been established in Portugal, he had never once entered a Lodge. A history of the uses to which Freemasonry has been applied in some countries would justify the prudence of His Holiness in forbidding Catholics to become members of secret societies: the author never having been a Mason, can say no more than express his belief that, in England, the principal object of Masonic societies is to encourage and foster friendly feelings amongst their members.

was the Grand Master, took place, on the 10th of March, in the square of the Rocio, to do honour to the Minister; but by a sudden impulse of the people, in spite of the exertions of those who called them, they proceeded in an immense body to the Pateo do Geraldes, where Saldanha resided, to request him to represent to his Majesty their complaints against the Loulé Ministry. It was the Duchess' birthday, and the Marshal and his wife had gone to dine at Oeiras. Three vast courtyards were filled with the immense mass of people who shouted *viva* for the Marshal Saldanha. When fully assured of his absence, and the reason of it, they retired; but a deputation came, later in the evening, to represent the wishes which the assembled crowd had expressed. Learning, however, how uncertain was the hour of the Marshal's return, they retired. On the following morning, they again appeared, and brought with them a petition, which they requested should be laid before his Majesty. It contained complaints of the illegal conduct of the Ministers, and insisted on the necessity for certain reforms. The Marshal, without hesitation, promised to comply with this request; and, in the course of the day, he proceeded to the palace, and presented the petition to the King.

Shortly after this, very incendiary proclamations were addressed to the military and to the people; calling on them to stir themselves to bring about the fall of the Ministry. The King and his Ministers were roundly abused. "In his reign," they asserted, "the Chambers are dissolved because the Members desire to speak freely; coiners of false money are protected; traffickers in slaves are elected Deputies; robbers are let free that they may control the elections. . . . . It is a reign of intrigues and corruption." The King, they declare to be puffed up with vanity, and a coward. He is called "Rei d'Espadas," * etc., etc. The writers continue: "If the King will not set aside his abject counsellors, let the people go from the Palace das Necessidades to the Pateo do Geraldes; † and, with the hero of Almoster at their head, return to the Palace,

* King of Spades. But as *espada*, in Portuguese, means a sword, the allusion was made to ridicule D. Pedro for always wearing a long sword.

† Saldanha's residence.

—not to petition, but to command—for the desires of the people must be obeyed; as their wlll is sovereign."

These scoundrels wished to make Saldanha the instrument to compass their revolutionary and disloyal ends; and were, probably, led astray by the current reports that, on various occasions, he had been slighted by D. Pedro. We need hardly observe that the Marshal was inaccessible to such suggestions: and that whenever led to use his power, out of the strict line of Constitutional duty, it was in defence of his Sovereign, and of the liberties of his country, against those who desired to attack both the one and the other.

He, nevertheless, wrote to the Prime Minister, lamenting that such anonymous and incendiary publications should be circulated; and acquainting him that he had publicly made known in the newspapers, his disapproval of such infamous conduct. Loulé expressed his satisfaction at his having done so, as it would prevent the Marshal's name from being so unwarrantably made use of: and he added: "All those who know you, do you justice; and to them no such declaration from you is necessary."

Although Saldanha declared, when he left the Ministry in 1856, that he had made his political Testament; yet, he could not but write, with some pride, to a friend, on the 30th of June, that he had been again urged by men of all parties, to take an active part in political life. "Sampaio; Fontes; Aguiar; and José Estevão, on one side: on another, the Marquises of Fronteira, Ficalho, and Vallada: D. José Lacerda, in the name of Count de Thomar; Sá Vargas; Lopes Branco; Corrêa Caldeira; on their own part: Viscount de Carreira; Reis e Vasconcellos, etc., etc." But, he asked, what would be the return for such a sacrifice? Envy and ingratitude! He reminded his correspondent, how the object of his life had been to unite his countrymen in one party: that during his Ministry he had succeeded in doing so; although his ideas, at the commencement, were declared utopian, and by none more so than by the late Minister, R. da F. Magalhães. And yet, at the funeral of that distinguished man, one of his friends who spoke on the occasion, ascribed to Magalhães, and to him only, the

noble idea of the formation of a truly national Administration. "I had intended," added Saldanha, "to have uttered a few words in honour of our friend; but so horrible an injustice so completely overpowered me, that I remained silent."

The 15th of September was the commencement of a serious illness which had nearly proved fatal to the Marshal. On the 20th of October, D. Pedro went to see his faithful Minister, and remained in conversation with him for above an hour. Sad was the parting; for they were never to meet again. We may imagine with what feelings the virtuous and well-intentioned King took his leave, when, after embracing the good Marshal, he kissed him tenderly on each cheek! Did he anticipate the speedy death of either? Did he foresee that it would be his own?

On the 14th of November, at midnight, the author received a telegram from his sister, calling him to Lisbon. He started at break of day, and on reaching the railway station, he was met by the sad news that the Marshal was no more! This report, indeed, found its way throughout Europe; and many were the letters of condolence which the Duchess received in consequence. But his life was spared on this occasion. Weak, indeed, did the author find his dear friend and brother-in-law. For many days had he lingered between life and death. He called his son and daughter to his bedside and bade them regard his wife as a mother; for that she had been a source of much happiness to their father. After receiving the last sacraments of the Church, which were administered by the Cardinal Patriarch, on the 14th, he became resigned to quit this world; and, under the impression that his end was near, he said to the Duchess, in a voice scarcely audible: "Open the shutters, that I may see, for the last time, the glorious sunset."

During the Marshal's illness the young Prince, D. Fernando, died suddenly on the 6th of November. On the 11th, D. Pedro V. himself died; and, on the 27th of December, another brother, D. João, fell a victim to the same disease, which was supposed to have arisen from marsh-fever. The heir to the Throne, D. Luiz, was, fortunately, absent from Portugal at the time

when D. Pedro died; and he, as did his youngest brother, escaped the contagion.

When Sr. D. Luiz arrived in the Tagus, on the morning of the 14th of November, he was not then aware of the death of his brother. The Prime Minister went on board to inform him of that event, and of the high position he was now called upon to occupy. His Majesty was much affected. "I have lost by one stroke," said he, "the two things I most prized in this world:—my brother and my liberty."

On the 16th, the Marshal had a severe attack of spasmodic hiccoughs; but, on the 18th, favourable symptoms appeared; and he was declared out of danger. Shortly afterwards, he wrote a letter of thanks to the homœopathic doctors who had attended him; and, as it was written for publication, he took the opportunity of drawing attention to the value of the treatment to which he ascribed his recovery. The supporters of the system considered it a great triumph: for one of its Professors had naïvely observed to the Duchess, that the death of the Marshal would be a great blow to homœopathy in Portugal.

Letters arrived from all parts of Europe, as well as from every corner of Portugal, to congratulate Saldanha on his recovery; Lord Palmerston replied in the following kindly terms to one which the Marshal had occasion to write to him.

"It has, I can assure you, afforded me very sincere pleasure to receive a letter from an illustrious General and statesman with whom I have had the honour of co-operating in so many important events connected with the best interests of Great Britain and Portugal, and whose personal friendship I have, for so many years, enjoyed."

On the 21st of February, 1862, there was a partial change in the Ministry. Loulé still remained President; but the Ministers of the Home, Justice, Finance, and Marine Departments, resigned their places to Srs. Anselmo José Braamcamp; G. Pereira da Silva; J. F. Lobo d'Avila; and José da Silva Mendes Leal.

In September a military revolt took place at Braga, which was suppressed, although with some loss of life. This, with the questions of the Sisters of Charity; the *bens d'Arouca;*

the monster loan; the flour law; etc., etc., occupied the public attention and rendered the Ministry more or less unpopular.

On the 5th of October the Princess Maria Pia,* daughter of King Victor Emmanuel, arrived in the Tagus; and, as consort of his Majesty D. Luiz I., became Queen of Portugal.

On the occasion of the marriage, the Marshal received the insignia of the very distinguished Order of the *Annunciata*, conferred on him by the King Victor Emmanuel: and, on the 30th of October, Sr. D. Luiz, by Royal letters, raised him to the honours and privileges of "Duque Parente" to the Royal Family. When placing these "Letters" in his hands, his Majesty expressed a great desire that the Marshal should be his Representative at the Court of Rome; and urged that his acceptance of the Mission would, for various political reasons, render great service to Portugal.

The Marshal needed not much solicitation to quit the turmoil of politics for a life of comparative ease and quiet; and the King, out of consideration for his high position, declared that, on his acceptance of the Mission, it would be immediately raised to the rank of an Embassy.

* So named after her god-father the late Pope Pio IX.

CHAPTER XIII.

1862—1868.

Saldanha leaves for Rome—The voyage—Arrival—Private audiences with His Holiness—Official audience—The *Recevimento*—Festivities at the Embassy—Visit to London—Palmerston—Alnwick Castle—Portuguese politics—Victor Emmanuel—Lady William Russell—"Concordanza"—Academical oration—Anticipated Republicanism—Diplomatic occurrences—Anecdote of Pio IX.—Visit to Lucca—Saldanha's charity—Leaves Rome—Arrives at Lisbon—Brilliant reception—Letter to the King—Homœopathic pamphlet—Political overtures—Refuses office—Civil marriages—Resumes his seat as a Peer—Fresh honours—The General of the Jesuits—Latino Coelho—Return to Rome—Illness—Ministerial changes at Lisbon—Visit to England—Return to Rome—Dangerous accident.

ON the 10th of November, 1862, the Marshal, with his wife and step-daughter, embarked at Lisbon for Civita Vecchia, in the Portuguese ship-of-war the *D. Estephania*. The author formed one of the party. Nothing remarkable occurred during the voyage; except that one night the ship was nearly set on fire. Owing to a sudden lurch a box of matches fell upon the floor of an officer's cabin; and, igniting, fired the contents of a bottle of brandy which had also fallen. The fire was quickly extinguished.

We arrived at Rome on the 20th, and after remaining a fortnight at the Hôtel de Londres, the Marshal found for his future residence that fine Palace, in the Borgo Nuovo, built, in 1506, by Bramante, and well known to the English traveller from the entertainments which were given there by Prince Torlonia. Still more distinguished is it as having been the residence of the English Ambassadors before the Reformation; and of Cardinal Wolsey during his stay at Rome.

The Marshal had a private audience of His Holiness immediately after his arrival. They conversed in Spanish; and the Pope expressed his delight at meeting with one, of whom he had so exalted an opinion. He was also glad to converse about those who had been known to him at Monte Video, in long bygone days, when His Holiness was Nuncio at that city. The Marshal was charmed with Pio IX., and with his reception. Ere leaving, he solicited permission to present his wife, his step-daughter, and the author, at his next audience. An occasion presented itself on the 8th of December, when we were received with the greatest affability by His Holiness, who conversed freely with us for more than half an hour. The author was not a little astonished to find that His Holiness still retained a perfect recollection of having received him, on several occasions, so far back as 1851. This he imputed to the special interest His Holiness took, at that time, in the affairs of Portugal; as well as to the information he received from the author respecting the Montevidean family of Ximenes, whom the Pope had much esteemed. On taking our leave, we all knelt as the benignant Pio IX. exclaimed "Je donne au Nom de Dieu la bénédiction à cette bonne famille!"

On the 19th of January the Ambassador had his first Official Audience at the Vatican, which took place with great ceremony. In the evening he held his *recevimento*. The saloons of the Palace were thrown open to all visitors. Almost all the Cardinals, resident in Rome, were present; together with Monsignors; Princes; Princesses; Corps Diplomatique; resident Romans; as well as strangers from all parts of Europe. No less than from two to three thousand people were said to have attended the reception on that night. So great was the throng, that many were hours ere they reached the Embassy; and some, who arrived late, were unable to mount the stairs owing to the number of people who were assembled.

On the 21st and 28th, dinners laid for 32 guests were given at the Embassy, to which the Corps Diplomatique and many foreigners of rank were invited.

On the 4th of February, above 700 persons attended the first Ball given by the Ambassadress. This, and many suc-

ceeding entertainments, gave an éclat to the Marshal's Embassy which was long remembered by all who were present.

During Easter Week, he washed, upon his knees, the feet of twelve pilgrims in the Portuguese Church of Saint Antonio. The Marshal subsequently joined the Brotherhood connected with the Church of *La Trinità dei pellegrini*. Every year, during the continuance of his Embassy, he knelt and washed the feet of a number of the pilgrims who annually flock to Rome. After rendering this menial service to the poor, he, with Cardinal Barnabo, clothed in the red gown and badge of the Brotherhood, and with a white apron, served out the contents of a vast cauldron, which steamed with savoury soup. Then, with other noblemen and high church dignitaries, he served the pilgrims' table; and afterwards conducted them to their dormitories. The reader must not imagine that this was a simple act of humiliation: the performance of it was an arduous and a painful task.

The author refers but slightly to the Marshal's diplomatic duties at this period. There existed some points of contention between the Courts of Rome and Lisbon respecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Portuguese colonies in Asia; but the marked distinctions received by the Marshal from His Holiness up to the period of his final departure from Rome, in 1869, lead us reasonably to conclude that these questions were amicably settled.

The Marshal was absent from Rome during the summer months, and, with his family visited London. Dining one day at Lady Palmerston's, his Lordship observed to the Duchess, that Portugal was much indebted to the Marshal—and to him alone—for having saved his country from a contest with England, which would inevitably have resulted in the loss of some of her Colonies. At the close of the season, the Marshal paid a visit, in Northumberland, to the noble owner of Alnwick Castle; where he was greatly struck with the magnificence of the building; its superb decorations; and the kind hospitality he received.

Many letters had reached him during his absence from Portugal. Some urged him to return and take a part in

political life; others wanted him there to advance the interests of those Companies in which he had embarked so much capital; and many warned him against a continued stay in a climate, which had proved fatal to so many of his countrymen. When passing through Paris, on his way to Rome, he addressed a short and general reply to these remonstrances from his political friends. It was dated October 14th, 1863:—

"In a few days," he wrote, "I shall have completed 73 years of age; and, in September next, 60 years in the service of my country.

"I sincerely desire to pass the rest of my life apart from the turmoil of politics, which leave no time for thinking upon Eternity. It will not, therefore, be I who will seek or endeavour again to recommence a political existence.

"But, should circumstances arise of a nature to convince me that I can, on any occasion, still render important service to my country, I will not hesitate for one moment, whatever may be the sacrifice. Such service could only be rendered were I to become Prime Minister; and called to that position by the free and spontaneous act of the King. His Majesty's call would neither be spontaneous nor free, if it were the result of a revolution, or of the vote of a Chamber, in which I was the Leader of the Opposition. Therefore, unless I was convinced that the King sent for me of his own free will, I would not accept the nomination."

The Marshal stopped a few days at Turin, where he visited the King. Victor Emmanuel, sent word to him to use no ceremony, but to appear in a morning dress. He made many enquiries respecting his son-in-law, D. Luiz, and the condition of Spain and Portugal. An account of their conversation might serve to elucidate and explain many occurrences which took place at a subsequent period, in those countries.

On the 14th of January, 1864, the Marshal had the satisfaction of seeing his step-daughter married, at Rome, to Mr. F. Goulburn Walpole—whom he highly esteemed, and whom he had known from his childhood. The wedding was celebrated with great pomp; and, in addition to the presents which, on this occasion, the bride received, from Cardinal

Antonelli, and others, His Holiness himself condescended to bestow on her a valuable mark of his esteem.

The author would apologize for presenting to the reader the following letter, received by the Marshal at this period, did it not afford a proof of the friendship felt for him by the most charming and talented of women, whose loss so many continue to regret. But can any excuse be necessary for making public a letter written by Lady William Russell?

"Many thanks, my dear Duke, for the book with the pretty *concetto* of 'que sarà, sarà.' Alas! Que sarà in Germany?

"I take this opportunity of congratulating, and, at the same time *condoling*, with the Duchess and yourself on the marriage of Donna Amalia, and the consequent loss of her society. The splendour of the wedding was the theme of every body here. I often see our good old friend, Lavradio, who looks very ill; but is always clever and agreeable.

"I recommend my Roman son* to your protection, as a sequel to the friendship of our Lisbon days, when he was a little child, and you came to *Janellas Verdes*,† and were in your brilliant military, patriotic, heroic, days. Pray tell the Duchess that her brother was kind enough to send me a case of oranges from his country house—and that I am much flattered by his *sunny* recollection of me. I am still, and, I fear, ever shall be, a great invalid! but I keep to my friendships; and am proud of numbering you amongst my "hommes illustres!" though I cannot write terse parallels, like Plutarch, or I would compare you to the Cid. I remain, my Dear Marshal,

"Very truly, yours obliged

"ELIZABETH ANNE RUSSELL."

"2, Audley Square, W.

"Day of the Purification, 1864."

The book to which Lady William referred, was one which the Marshal had lately published at Rome. It was written in Italian, under the title of "Concordanza delle Scienze Naturali,

* The present Lord Odo Russell.

† The British Legation was at *Janellas Verdes*.

e principalmente della Geologia, con la Genensi;" and was an extract from his larger work on that subject.

One day, when the author was at Rome, we drove outside the gates to see the French troops reviewed by General Montebello. No sooner was the General aware that Saldanha was on the ground, than he sent an Aide-de-Camp, accompanied by a fine charger led by a groom, to request the Marshal to honour the review with his presence. The Marshal's noble appearance on horseback, as he rode round the field, attracted general attention; and many were the French officers, whom the author met in the evening, who expressed their admiration of his gallant bearing. This accomplishment in a man who had passed so many years of his life in the tented field, and who seldom felt himself so happy and elated as when seated on a fiery steed, may create no surprise: but the gay society at Rome hardly expected to find in the Marshal, already in his 75th year, a perfection of a far different nature.

It was early in the year 1864,—on the last day of Carnival —that the Ambassador and the Ambassadress were present at a small party given by the Princess Borghese. The supper was at half-past eight, (before dancing commenced), and the Marshal gave his arm to the Princess Borghese *mère;* a lady but three years his junior. As he led the Princess into the ball-room, where preparations were being made for the first quadrille, he gallantly invited her to the dance. It was Carnival time; and all felt the influence of the merry season. The Princess accepted the offer; and not a little astonished were the young people. Cardinal Antonelli was in an adjoining room, and was about to retire, as is the custom for ecclesiastics, at Rome, when dancing commences; but, learning that the Portuguese Ambassador had stood up with the aged Princess, he was seen peeping in at the door of the ball-room. The figures commenced; and the Marshal moved with that ease of motion, which, as the poet avers, is so peculiar to those "who have learnt to dance." But when it became his turn to advance—*cavalier seul*—in the spacious ball-room, he seemed animated by the recollections of youth, and to feel the buoyancy of it, as he sprang forward with nimble steps to the right and to the left, ending with

a succession of *entrechats*. "Bravo, bravo," was uttered from every lip; and the hands of every spectator testified applause. Many of the young ladies, at the conclusion of the quadrille, came forward to present bouquets to the *coryphée des danseurs*. On this occasion the Marshal illustrated his favourite axiom: "Whatever you undertake, try to do it well." All Rome, on the following day, was informed of the Ambassador's wonderful dancing; and the Cardinal told the Duchess that when he narrated the occurrence to the good Pio IX., His Holiness had a more hearty laugh than he had enjoyed for a long time.

On the 18th of April of this year, 1864, the Emperor and Empress of Mexico arrived at Rome. The Marshal was well acquainted with their Majesties, and received an invitation for the Duchess and himself to dine with them on the following day, as they intended to proceed towards their destination on the 20th. At the railway station, where the Marshal and the Duchess took leave of their Majesties, they tenderly embraced; and the Emperor was much affected. For the Marshal had not disguised from him the character of the people amongst whom he was going; and had frankly made known that his position was not unaccompanied with danger. On their arrival at Gibraltar, the Empress wrote a kind letter to the Duchess, and enclosed in it photographs of herself and her ill-fated husband.

On the 21st, the Marshal addressed an academical oration to a very distinguished audience—members of the "Academia dei Quiriti"—at which were present the Cardinals Barnabo; Di Pietro; Bedini; d' Andrea; Sacconi; De Luca; Pentini; and other persons of note. At the request of many of them, his discourse was published under the title of "Il Natale di Roma."

Whilst enjoying a tranquil existence in Italy—for the Marshal, shortly after this, left Rome and went to the Baths of Lucca—sad indeed were the accounts he received from his friends of the condition of Portugal. Sr. Salvador de Oliveira Pinto da França,* wrote to him, on the 31st of May, 1864, that

* This excellent man, and true friend of Saldanha, took office as Minister of War on the 22nd of November of the following year; but he had little opportunity for serving his country. He died, regretted by all, within three months of his appointment.

demagogical principles were making such progress, that, if the coming elections were such as were expected, neither the Duke de Loulé, or any other but a pure demagogue, would be able to keep himself in power. And, he added, we shall see if Sr. D. Luiz will don the *bonnet rouge!*

The reader's attention is called to this and similar extracts, as they serve to explain those future events which we shall have to narrate.

The Marshal, in reply, reminded Sr. Salvador that he would never hesitate to serve his country, when he saw clearly the means of doing so: but, that the reason of the success which had hitherto attended him was, that he never undertook impossibilities. He drew a picture of the satisfactory position in which he felt himself at Rome—esteemed by all classes, from His Holiness downwards. "Our prejudices," wrote Saldanha, "with respect to Rome are unjust. I have always met with the greatest good-will from everybody. But, in matters of conscience, the Holy Father is inexorable."

In the same letter, the Marshal gives a further instance of the esteem in which he was held by the good Pio Nono.

"On the day of the festival of Corpus Christi, His Holiness, during the procession, appeared to be suffering. As soon as the service was over, I went to the Vatican to enquire if His Holiness was unwell. I was there informed, that he had suffered pain in the shoulder from having been in a draught; and I had already left, when the private valet of His Holiness came running after me, with orders that I should enter. I explained to him, that I was in morning dress, and could not. 'So I said,' returned the servant, 'but His Holiness replied, "Voglio vedere l'uomo, non voglio vedere l'uniforme."' Passing through the bed-chamber to a small private room within it, and to which there was no other access, I was about to make my excuses, when His Holiness said:—'You would not come in because you were in a morning coat. Well, you see that I receive you in a *paletot*,' glancing at a thick overcoat which covered his white cassock. In the evening, it was known all over Rome, that the Portuguese Ambassador had been received by the Pope in his private cabinet, and in morning dress."

The Marshal, after informing Sr. Salvador of the numerous congratulations which he had received, on account of the religious sentiments evinced in his late publications; adds, that, all his life, he had sustained the truths of his religious creed, as he had those of his liberal opinions. "And this," he writes, "will I continue to do; with the firm conviction that freedom is the surest and most necessary ally of the Catholic Religion. Entire Freedom! And Error, however it may progress for a time, will, in the end, succumb to Truth."

Before he quitted the Baths of Lucca, Saldanha had endeared himself to all classes there. The cholera had raged in the place; but had ceased ere he departed. Solemn thanks to the Almighty were offered up in the Church of S. Roche; and the hymn, which was sung on that occasion, was printed with the following dedication to the humane Marshal.

A SUA EXCELLENZA
IL MARESCIALLO DUCA DI SALDANHA
AMBASCIATORE DI SUA MAESTÀ FEDELLISSIMA
IL RE DE PORTOGALLO
PRESSO LA SANTA SEDE A ROMA
UOMO DEGNO D'IMMORTALE MEMORIA
PER LA SUA CARITÀ
PER LA SUA LIBERALITÀ
VERSO I POVERI.

Grateful to the Marshal must have been this public testimony to his charity, bestowed on many whom he had never seen, and whom he was never likely to see again. We may truly say of Saldanha; and no one who knew him will tax us with exaggeration; that the pleasure he most sought after was that of making others happy. Notoriously was he imposed upon: but we may vindicate him in the words of Cardinal Wiseman, as applied to the worthy Pope Pius VIII.:—

"Indeed, if he had a fault, it was the excessiveness of his kindness; too often indiscriminating in its objects, and liable to be imposed upon by the designing and the unworthy. But surely, if one must look back at life's close upon some frailty, it would not be this defect that would beget most remorse."

The Marshal left the Baths of Lucca on the 4th of September,

and reached London towards the close of the month. Shortly after his arrival he wrote to the Editor of the *Gazeta de Portugal* respecting some antediluvian skeletons which had been lately discovered.

From a letter addressed to him, on the 20th of October, 1864, by the Secretary of the "Portugal Iron and Coal Company," we learn that he was a subscriber for one hundred shares in that undertaking. Unfortunately, neither from that, nor from any other Company in which he was a shareholder, did he ever receive one single dividend!

At this time he thought seriously of resigning the Embassy; but, from various reasons, was induced to return to Rome, where he arrived on the 25th of December.

The Marquis de Loulé had now held office, as Premier, for nearly five years, although with continual changes amongst his colleagues, and, during that time, had been raised to the rank of Duke. Many of his political adversaries complained that he had done no good; whilst others asserted that he had done much mischief! This, probably, will ever be said, in constitutional Portugal, of every Minister. Political morality was at a low ebb; whilst the licentiousness of the Press was at its height. A dictatorship was thought necessary by many; and all eyes were turned, for that purpose, towards Saldanha. But, Loulé having resigned, Sá da Bandeira, on the 11th of April, was again placed at the head of the Government. Of this Ministry we need offer no further remark than that the Count de Avila held the Finance and Foreign Portfolios.

On the 1st of April, after taking a very affectionate leave of the Pope, the Marshal left Rome for England; whence, after a stay of a few weeks, he proceeded to Paris, and, shortly afterwards embarked at Bordeaux, for Lisbon; which city he reached on the 28th of May.

The reception he met with from his countrymen, on that occasion, is said to have surpassed all that his most enthusiastic friends could have anticipated. It was more like the triumphal entry of a conqueror, than the simple return of an Ambassador from his post. The author was absent from Portugal; but the accounts he received of it from English friends fully warrant

his assertion. Letters congratulating him on his return reached the Marshal from all parts of Portugal; and the Bishop of Oporto enthusiastically expressed his hope that GOD, in his Providence, had called Saldanha to put a check to the progress of atheism and pantheism, which had brought so much ruin on society, and, especially, in Portugal.

"Yes," exclaimed the Marshal, in his reply, "Your Excellency does me justice in saying, that I glory in my Catholic Belief. It is my greatest happiness to have been born in a Catholic country; and to have been brought up by my parents in those true principles of religion, which have guided and sustained me in all the terrible vicissitudes of a career so long and so stormy."

Shortly after the Marshal's arrival, the Ministers were in fear that some great public expression of popular dissatisfaction with themselves would be manifested; and that the name of Saldanha would be put forward to countenance it. In consequence of this feeling, the Count de Avila wrote to express his hope that the Marshal would remain at Cintra on the day indicated. In reply, he stated that such was his intention; and that he had strongly protested against any such proceedings. He had, moreover, already written to offer his excuses to the King for not being present to accompany his Majesty, in the procession, on S. Antonio's day, the 13th of June.

Although the Marshal remained at Cintra, and refused to accede to the wishes of those friends who urged him to take active steps to procure the downfall of the Ministry; he, yet, felt it his duty to lay before his Majesty the state to which he considered the country had been brought by misgovernment. This he did in a letter, dated July the 8th; and discouraging indeed was his description of the political condition of the country at the period we have now reached. The remedy he proposed, was that which he had proved the goodness of in 1851, namely, the formation of an Administration which would be powerful enough to resist the corrupt tendencies of a certain class, and to carry out the necessary reforms in spite of them; and honest enough to call around itself all the worthiest and most qualified men of the country, regardless of their political

creed. That remedy was not then accepted; and when, years afterwards, Saldanha endeavoured to apply it for his country's salvation, the evil was too deeply rooted to be eradicated.

About this time the Marshal published, whilst at Cintra, a few words on the homœopathic treatment of cholera.

In addition to many letters in our possession which denote the steps taken to persuade Saldanha to accept the Presidency of the actual Cabinet, Sá-Avila, we find the following note in his own hand-writing.

"The Court being then at Mafra, and I in Cintra, I received through the Lord-in-waiting, an invitation to breakfast with his Majesty two days hence. Such invitations, or rather orders, are replied to only when it is impossible to accept them. The next day, I received a telegram from the King, urging me not to fail being present at breakfast. Two hours after the delivery of the telegram, Sr. D. Fernando, who was residing at the Pena, entered my house, and remarked that, as I had not replied to the Lord-in-waiting, his Majesty D. Luiz had requested him to see that I did not fail to attend the breakfast.

"'What breakfast is this,' asked I, 'which, in addition to the Lord-in-waiting's invitation, requires a telegram from the King, and a visit from your Majesty?' 'I do not know,' replied Sr. D. Fernando, 'but I beg you to attend.'

"At the appointed hour, I entered his Majesty's Cabinet. He remarked that, before breakfast, we would treat of an affair which the Ministers were assembled in the Council Room to discuss. After the usual compliments, the Marquis de Sá, the Premier, said, that in his own name, and in those of his colleagues, authorized by his Majesty, he requested me to accept the Premiership, and that he himself would take the War or Marine Office, as I might determine; whilst the other Portfolios should be given to any one I might point out. I thanked the Ministers for the honour they intended me, but I declined to accept it for the same reasons which had led me so often to refuse to enter the Ministry, when our ever-lamented King, D. Pedro, had commanded me to form a Cabinet. After some discussion, the Marquis de Sá exclaimed: —'The King commands, and the Marshal obeys!' to which

I replied by asking him, 'in which of the Monastic Orders he had taken the vows!' and added, 'that I always felt great pleasure in executing his Majesty's commands whenever the law required my obedience; but that, in cases where it did not, I valued my liberty.' The Marquis became excited, and exclaimed, 'Well, I must tell you that there is not another man in the world to whom I would make the sacrifice of resigning the Premiership, and yet remain in the Cabinet!'

"I concluded by remarking, that I felt sure that all the Ministers well knew that I was too much the friend of each to suppose that my refusal arose from any personal objection to themselves. The efforts to induce me to change my determination lasted for some time. Different agents were afterwards employed to persuade me; but the one who most strove to make me reconsider my resolution was Dr. Alves Passos of Braga."

The Marshal's refusal to enter the Sá Ministry, resulted in the appointment of a new Cabinet, on the 4th of September, presided over by Sr. Joaquim Antonio d'Aguiar, in which Sr. Fontes entered as Minister of Finance.

Saldanha's objection to undertake the formation of a Ministry arose, principally, from the conviction of his inability to effect any good with the existing Chamber of Deputies. He, therefore, openly declared his opinion, that the only way of overcoming the difficulties of the situation, was for the King to assume, for a given time, certain extraordinary powers; with the proviso, that the Decrees which received the signatures of his Ministers, on their own responsibility, should be submitted to a reformed Parliament, when those powers expired. He felt that the Chamber of Deputies, as at present constituted, would never reform itself!

It was the intention of the new Ministry, presided over by Sr. Aguiar, to insert in the Civil Code, a clause respecting Civil Marriages. On this, Saldanha addressed such a strong letter of remonstrance to the Premier, that the Ministry was compelled to withdraw their obnoxious proposal. We have, before us, in a caricature of this period, a picture, where the Devil is seen whispering into the ear of the advocate of this

measure; whilst, on the same page, Saldanha is represented writing with his hand guided by an angel.

Many letters of thanks—from laymen as well as from Bishops and ecclesiastics—were addressed to the Marshal for this defence of the principles of the Catholic Church in Portugal.

Saldanha continued at Lisbon, taking, however, no part in politics: until one day, (the 30th of May, 1866), he unexpectedly entered the Chamber of Peers; and, after observing that he had not done so since he quitted the Ministry in 1856, stated that the sole object of his presence on that day was to urge the Ministry, in consideration of the disturbed condition of Europe, to put the Army in an efficient state.

On the 12th of June, the Grand Cross of the Order of S. Thiago (founded in 1177) was conferred upon him by Sr. D. Luiz, in consideration of his "valuable literary and scientific publications:" and, on the 15th of the month, he was appointed, by royal Decree, to act as *Condestavel do Reino* at the closing of the Côrtes on the following day. The duty of this office is to precede the King with an uplifted sword as he enters the House; and during the ceremony to stand upon his Majesty's right hand.

A pleasing instance of the Marshal's kindness; and a proof of the consideration in which he was held at Rome, occurred about this time. He was waited upon, one morning, by the worthy Mr. Meagher, who, esteemed by all who knew him, held, for more than fifty years, the post of British Vice-Consul at Lisbon. This gentleman, in great affliction, made known to him that he had three sons—all in Holy Orders—of whom two were Jesuit Priests. That he was old and alone in the world; except when one of those sons, who was employed at the Jesuit College at Campolide, near Lisbon, was allowed to pay him an occasional visit. But that happiness was now about to be denied him, as the Superior of the College had just received orders to send Father Meagher to a College in Brazil. His son was to leave Lisbon in the next packet, which would, probably, sail about the 1st of October.

This occurred on the 14th of September. On that day the Marshal wrote a letter to the General of the Jesuits at Rome;

in which, after stating the reason of his request, he begged that Father Meagher might be allowed to remain in Portugal. An immediate answer, which suspended the departure of Father Meagher, was transmitted by telegram from the General to the Superior of the College; and, on the 29th, the General himself wrote, expressing the pleasure he had in complying with any request coming from the Marshal. When, on his return to Rome, he went to thank the General for his ready attention to his wishes; and to apologize for having interfered with the orders which had been given, the General good humouredly replied: "I am the General; and you are the Marshal. It was my duty to obey the order of my superior."

Saldanha now desired to return to his post at Rome. His earnest wish—he was about to enter his 78th year—had been to live the remainder of his days in peace at his beloved Cintra. But rest was denied him in his own country. Ere he left Lisbon, he exclaimed to the author: "GOD forbid, my dear brother, that I should ever take office again. The country is rotten at the core."

On reaching Rome, on the 4th of December, the Marshal's first duty was to seek an audience with His Holiness. On his entering the presence, the Pope embraced him warmly; kissed him on each cheek; and exclaimed: "Caro Duca mio; voi avete scritto intorno al cazamento civile como un Santo Padre."

We have little to relate of this period of the Marshal's life. He was slightly unwell on the 11th of February, 1867, and remained so until the 1st of April, when he was seized with convulsive hiccoughs, which continued until the 17th. "Seventeen days and seventeen nights with these hiccoughs," he wrote to Sr. Casal Ribeiro, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, "are enough to weaken the most robust constitution. My doctor says I am made of iron. The iron consists in the resignation and patience with which I endeavour to submit to the will of Providence. . . . . I have no desire to leave Rome; where, I am convinced that, from the incomparable Pio Nono down to the beggars in the street, I am sincerely esteemed."

The 29th of June of this year witnessed a Jubilee at Rome, in order to celebrate the anniversary of the martyrdom of St.

Peter and St. Paul. On this occasion, many distinguished men of all countries, to the number of one hundred, had united to contribute articles, commemorative of the day, for insertion in a magnificent volume to be presented to His Holiness Pio Nono. Saldanha had been invited to lend his assistance; and, accordingly, he wrote an article entitled: "THE CATHOLICK WARRIOR BEFORE THE TOMB OF ST. PETER."

During the summer the Marshal left Rome for Neuhausen on the Rhine; and, after spending some time at that place, he continued his journey to England. Thence, towards the commencement of the winter, he returned to Rome.

On the 4th of January, 1868, another change took place in the Ministry at Lisbon. The Count de Avila was called to the Presidency. With him were associated the Viscount de Seabra; Sr. José Dias Ferreira; and three others whose names it is unnecessary to mention, as they left office in July, and the Marquis de Sá again became Prime Minister. When the Marshal left Lisbon for Rome, in November, 1862, he had strongly advised his Majesty to call upon Avila to form a Ministry, whenever that of Loulé should be forced to resign; and now, whilst the Count was in office, he wrote to remind him of that circumstance; and he added: "I heartily pray to GOD that He may grant you His Grace, and the means of conquering the difficulties which oppose themselves to the realization of your plans; the object of which will certainly be, to increase the glory of the Sovereign, and the well-being of the Country." But, as we have seen, Avila's Ministry was too short to produce the hoped-for results.

The Marshal spent part of this summer in England, where he occupied a house at Sydenham. While there he received a letter from one of the Ministers, who complained of the base and personal attacks made on himself in the newspapers. The Marshal's reply to his correspondent shews to what excesses men are led by political rancour. He stated, that the writer who had once made such pertinacious attacks upon the character of Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, had not been ashamed to declare, after that Minister's death, that his sole object had been to damage him for a time in public opinion; and that he

himself had never believed in the accusations which he had brought forward.

It was shortly after his return to Rome, on the 15th of December, 1868, that Saldanha and his wife had a second narrow escape from a violent death. They had alighted from their carriage, and were strolling in the Villa Borghese, by the side of the iron railings, when the Duchess, hearing the noise of a carriage behind them, slightly turned her head, and perceived that the horses were running away, and that the coachman appeared to have little or no control over them. She, at once, thought death to herself and to her husband was inevitable; and clung to the railings as the carriage rapidly approached. The near horse almost touched her as it passed; and the carriage wheel tore her dress to tatters. The Marshal had already advanced a few paces unconscious of what was passing. With great presence of mind, the Duchess neither shrieked nor called the attention of her husband to the danger. Had she done so, he would, doubtless, have immediately turned, and have encountered the full force of the shock. As it was, he was knocked down by the horse as it dashed by; but, fortunately, the carriage wheels did but graze his sleeve, and passed over the skirt of his coat as he lay on the ground. Many who witnessed the accident ran to the Marshal's assistance: amongst others was the Cardinal Bonaparte. All declared that they had never seen so narrow an escape from death. The Marshal's face was covered with blood from the injuries he had received; and, for a considerable time, he felt the effects of the accident. The coachman was immediately imprisoned by the authorities; but he was released at the request of the Marshal, who expressed his belief that he was in no wise to blame. The Pope sent every day to make enquiries, until the Marshal's complete recovery enabled him to return thanks to His Holiness in person.

CHAPTER XIV.

1869.

Royal telegrams—Critical state of Portugal—Affecting parting with the Pope—Honours—Papal Brief—Further Royal telegrams—Saldanha reaches Bordeaux—Accepts the Mission at Paris—Napoleon III.—Prince Albert on *Iberismo*—Spanish proposals to D. Fernando—Letter from the King—Reply—New Ministry—Sr. Calheiros—Letter to D. Fernando—Negotiations for the Crown of Spain—Intrigues—Prim—Return to Lisbon—Political demonstration at the theatre—General indignation—Deputation to Saldanha—Results—Ministerial imprudence—Saldanha resigns the Legation—Speaks in the House—Larmanjat tramway—Republicanism of the Press—Overtures to Saldanha—The Dynasty in danger.

AT the commencement of January, the Marshal received a telegram from Sr. D. Luiz, simply enquiring as to his health, and that of His Holiness. This telegram was quickly followed by another, in cypher, expressing a desire that the Marshal should come immediately to Lisbon to form a Ministry. The Marshal answered as follows: "To-morrow I will beg an audience of the Holy Father; and, as soon as I have obtained it, I will leave Rome to explain personally to your Majesty the reasons why I am of opinion that I cannot have the honour of forming a Ministry." To this the King replied immediately: "I cannot dispense with the service I request of you." *

It will, no doubt, strike the reader, that such an order coming from the Sovereign to the aged Marshal, now in his 79th year, and who had taken no part in politics for so long a time, confirms whatever has been stated respecting the importance attached to his counsels. Did the King, and those who surrounded him, consider Portugal at her last gasp; and that

* "*Naõ o posso dispensar do serviço que lhe peço. LUIZ.*"

none could be found but Saldanha to support the falling State, or to secure the Sovereign from the fate of Queen Isabella; the country from a Republic, in imitation of its neighbour; or, from what was most feared, by the Portuguese in general, their forced incorporation with Spain? Or was it hoped that a strong and liberal Government, presided over by Saldanha, would restore that confidence in the Money Market which had been forfeited in the preceding year, during which four different Finance Ministers had tried to grapple with that most difficult problem in modern representative governments, the taxation of the country?

Saldanha so far complied with the wishes of his Sovereign, as to prepare for immediate departure; and, on the 10th of January, he was admitted to the presence of Pius IX. to take his leave. The parting was most affecting. Tears were in the eyes of both. They felt that they were never again to meet: and the Duchess wept in sympathy. When the good Father rose to dismiss them, he kissed the Marshal on both cheeks, and exclaimed: "Andate con Dio; colla mia benedizione; col mio amore; col mio affetto; colla mia stima; e colla mia amicizia."

Immediately afterwards, a Papal Brief was prepared, by which was conferred on the Marshal the Grand Cross of the Order of Pio Nono. The terms employed in the Brief were so peculiar to the Marshal's position, that we venture to offer its preamble:—

PIUS P. P. IX.

Beloved Son. Health and the Apostolic Benediction.

It is with great pleasure that WE are wont to confer very special marks of Pontifical favour upon men of approved character and doctrine, and zealous in their attachment to the Chair of Most Blessed Peter; and upon those who by their practice of religion, as well as by the exercise of every virtue, adorn and exalt the dignities conferred upon them.

And since you, beloved son, are possessed of these praiseworthy qualities in the highest degree; inasmuch as you are conspicuous for distinguished piety towards God; remarkable

for faith and attachment to the most Holy Apostolic See; endued with integrity, prudence, and judgment; with exquisite urbanity and magnanimity; renowned for knowledge in polite letters, as well as in the severer sciences; and discharging with the applause of all good men the honourable office committed to you by his Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal: WE have resolved to confer upon you a testimony of our tender affection.

Desirous therefore of accompanying you with our special benevolence, etc., etc.

On the 14th of January, the King sent a telegram to the Portuguese Minister at Paris, ordering him to communicate to the Duke de Saldanha, the concluding paragraph of the message, which ran as follows:—

"Circumstances have changed since my last Despatch. Let me know if you still object to form a Ministry, in order that I may take steps which do not admit of delay. Answer wanted by Sunday evening. Reply as quickly as possible.

"LUIZ."

This was followed by another telegram, which was communicated by a special messenger to the Marshal, at Marseilles, on the 16th; and to which he replied, at half-past one A.M. on the 17th:—

"SIRE,

"Without delay I reached Marseilles, where the Viscount de Lencastre made known to me your Majesty's telegram of yesterday. I gratefully kiss your Majesty's hand for having released me from the greatest sacrifice which you could have demanded from the Duke de Saldanha."

The Ministry at Lisbon had consented to retain office. No other, on this occasion, could be found to take the place which Saldanha had refused.

The Marshal had taken his final leave of Rome; and, intent on returning homewards, had, on the 20th, already reached Bordeaux. At this city, he received a letter from Sr. Fontes, who, at considerable length, sought to make him acquainted

with some of the events which had recently occurred in Portugal.

Shortly after reaching Bordeaux, Saldanha received a telegram, announcing that the Ministers retained their posts; and that the Legation at Paris was at his disposal.

When he arrived at Paris, which was not until the middle of February, the Minister of Foreign Affairs called on him, and made him acquainted that the Emperor desired to see him at once, without waiting to present his credentials, and without a uniform.

By a private letter from Saldanha to his Majesty, Sr. D. Luiz, dated February the 25th, we become acquainted with the subject of the conversation which took place on this occasion. The Emperor insisted upon the advantage which would accrue to Spain and Portugal—and, indeed, to Europe in general—if D. Luiz could be persuaded to accept the Crown of Spain. His Imperial Majesty saw no better way of relieving that country from her embarrassments; and, he argued, that the refusal of his Majesty would, inevitably, bring about the proclamation of a Republic in Spain; which might lead to a similar form of government being adopted in Portugal. The Emperor asserted that the British Government gave its support to this idea; but that D. Luiz had, already, twice refused his assent to the proposal.*

* The union of Portugal with Spain was a favourite idea of the Emperor Napoleon. We learn this from a memorandum of Prince Albert's, made when a guest of the Emperor in 1854, and shortly after the young King, D. Pedro V. (during the Regency of his father), had visited Paris. Prince Albert wrote:—"Spain and Portugal. The King of Portugal had, the Emperor said, *tout à fait gagné son cœur.* He is anxious for the union of Spain and Portugal under the King. On my saying *que nous ne voulons cela du tout*; he said, '*Yes, je le sais bien;* Lord Clarendon *n'en veut rien entendre; mais je ne desespère pas de le convaincre.*' I replied that it was contrary to the traditions of English policy—that I could not believe, for a moment, in its happy realization. The Spaniards despised the Portuguese, and the Portuguese hated them in return. Should Spain become a province of Portugal, or Portugal of Spain? The Emperor called the mutual aversion exaggerated, and thought it quite feasible to tell the Portuguese, *Je vous donne l'Espagne; et aux Espagnols, Je vous donne le Portugal.*" Prince Albert, however, maintained that, if the attempt were made and failed, its failure would bring ruin upon the dynasty in Portugal.

On the very day that the Marshal was writing on this subject to D. Luiz, the Marquis de Sá wrote to inform him that the provisional Spanish Government, presided over by Serrano, had made a proposal for offering the Crown of Spain to D. Fernando of Portugal; but that this Prince had declared that he would decline to accept it, even if he were elected by the Côrtes. The Marquis gave it as his opinion, that the elevation of D. Fernando to the throne of Spain would serve as a guarantee, at least during his life, for the independence of Portugal; and would secure it from the schemes of those who wished to bring about the "Iberic Union."

This favourite scheme of "Iberismo," had been already advocated for many years by the Spaniards, and by some Portuguese.

About this time, the Marshal's attention was very particularly directed by his Government to a system of railways on highroads, which had been recently introduced into France, and which the Marquis de Sá thought might be made use of with great advantage to Portugal. We shall have to refer, at a later period, to the consequences which followed this wish on the part of the Government.

There were many who expected that Saldanha would not remain long absent from his country; and many were the letters he received from those who speculated on his advent to power. His friends warned him against the intrigues of his opponents; and against the no less dangerous artifices of his flatterers. The King himself, well aware of what was going forward, wrote to Saldanha in June, when the Queen went to Italy to visit her father, Victor Emanuel. This letter serves to shew the confidence that D. Luiz placed in the honour and loyalty of the Marshal towards himself.

"MEU CARO DUQUE,

"Folque, who goes with the Queen, will deliver this letter. As you already know, you are expected here by certain *especuladores* who will endeavour, by every means in their power, to involve the respected name of the Marshal Saldanha in their artifices. I only warn you of this, because I well know the loyal character of my Duke; and I am firmly persuaded

that you will not listen to those who, at any price, would wish to sacrifice you to their own interests. Believe me, my dear Duke, "Your affectionate Friend,

"LUIZ."

The Marshal, in reply, expressed his wonder that any one, from ambitious motives, should desire to be Minister under the difficult circumstances in which the country was placed. But, he added, that if the moment should ever arrive, in which he believed his services could save the country from ruin, it would require no *artifices* to induce him to offer them to his Sovereign.

The Minister of Public Works, Sr. Calheiros, wrote, on the 10th of August, to inform the Marshal that the Ministry had been out-voted in the House of Peers; and that, with a majority of only four in the Lower House, he would probably soon hear of a change. He concludes:—"Everything here is uncertain; I believe that we are, as yet, but on the eve of the Second Act of political and government transformation. The Second will, probably, be followed by others."

On the 11th, the Duke de Loulé was again at the head of the Ministry. He himself held the Home Portfolio. The following appeared as his colleagues:—

Justice	JOSÉ LUCIANO DE CASTRO PEREIRA CORTE REAL.
Finance	ANSELMO JOSÉ BRAAMCAMP.
Public Works . . .	JOAQUIM THOMAZ LOBO DE AVILA.
War	,, ,, ,, ,, (ad interim).
Marine	LUIZ AUGUSTO REBELLO DA SILVA.
Foreign	JOSÉ DA SILVA MENDES LEAL.

The Marshal replied to the telegram announcing these appointments, and congratulated both Loulé and the Minister of Foreign Affairs on their accession to Office.

Efforts having been renewed to induce Sr. D. Fernando to accept the Crown of Spain, the Marshal was solicited to address his Majesty on that subject, which he did in the following terms:—

"PARIS, *September 12th*, 1869.

"SENHOR,

"Marshal Prim and the Ambassador Olozaga are still

convinced that your Majesty's acceptance of the Crown of Spain would secure the peace and happiness of that Kingdom; insure the tranquillity and independence of Portugal; and would obtain the entire approval of their Majesties, the Emperor of the French and the King of Italy; and of the English Government.

"Guided by these sentiments, they came together to this Legation to beg of me to remind your Majesty, that Spain is now under very different circumstances to what she was when your Majesty refused the Throne. A Regency—which is far weaker than a King—has been able to subdue the attempts of the Republicans in Andalusia, and the Carlist movements all over the country. The circumstances are, really, unlike what they were a few months back. The Marshal and the Ambassador requested me to beg your Majesty not to deny to Spain, to Portugal, to all Europe, the great benefit which must accrue to them if your Majesty would resolve to sacrifice the pleasures of private life for the fatigues, but also the glories, of a Crown.

"Senhor! There are duties whose non-acceptance conveys so much responsibility, that no one can refuse to undertake them. For this reason I could not but accede to the request of Marshal Prim and the Ambassador Olozaga.

"If your Majesty complies with their wishes you will, if it so pleases you, announce to me your decision in a confidential letter. I will only acquaint Olozaga with its contents; and he can, at once, set out for Madrid. I will either destroy the letter, or return it, as your Majesty may command.

"I respectfully kiss your Majesty's hand, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

The steps taken at Paris to bring about the acceptance of the Spanish Crown by Sr. D. Fernando, led to the most exaggerated reports respecting the intentions and desires of D. Luiz himself. It was asserted in the Spanish newspapers, and repeated in those of Portugal, that the King, D. Luiz, had resolved to abdicate the throne of Portugal in favour of his eldest son; and that Sr. D. Fernando would act as regent during the young prince's minority: that D. Luiz would accept

the Crown of Spain; and that, at his death, his son would reign over the two monarchies. Each country was to retain its *autonomia;* its separate government; and its parliament. And all this, it was asserted, had been planned, at Paris, between the Duke de Saldanha, Marshal Prim, and the Spanish Ambassador.

As such reports tended to injure Sr. D. Luiz in the eyes of his subjects, who, however they may differ in other respects, are all agreed in their aversion to a union with Spain, his Majesty addressed a complete contradiction to such assertions, in a letter to the Duke de Loulé which was immediately made public.

The concluding words of this letter met with the applause of the entire Nation. They were:—

"If Providence has yet in store for my country days of painful trial, I hope—confiding in its affection, and in the sincere alliance of Liberty with the Throne—to be able to meet these direful occasions. I will fulfil those duties which loyalty to the country, and respect for its institutions, impose upon me. A Portuguese was I born: a Portuguese I desire to die."

Some false reports having also appeared in the newspapers respecting the part the Marshal had taken in these affairs, he wrote the following indignant letter to his old friend and Aide-de-Camp, D. Miguel Ximenes.

"PARIS, *October 3rd*, 1869.

"MY DEAR MIGUEL,

"I have just received your letter of the 28th. Your never failing interest for me, coupled with the weak state of your health, must have produced the impression you felt on reading a correspondence, from Paris, in which it is stated; that at some conference, (which never took place) I had undertaken to suffocate any popular movement which should arise in opposition to the Iberic Union! If, notwithstanding my well known public and private life, it should enter into the head of any of my countrymen to suppose that, at its close, I would commit a dishonourable act: as a Catholic I pardon the insult,

from my heart; and its injustice will prevent me feeling the slightest pain. In our circumstances, I would give a thousand lives to sustain our *autonomia*.

"Your true friend,

"SALDANHA."

Desirous of returning to his country, the Marshal and the Duchess left Paris on the 20th of October; and sleeping one night at Bordeaux, and another at Vittoria, they reached Madrid on the morning of the 23rd, where they remained until the evening of the 28th, guests of the Count d'Alte, at that time the Portuguese Representative at Madrid.

Marshal Serrano, then governed Spain as Regent, and was favourable to the candidateship of Montpensier; Marshal Prim, on the other hand, who was averse to a Bourbon, had desired to see the Spanish Throne occupied by D. Fernando.

The Count d'Alte gave a Ministerial Diplomatic dinner to Saldanha, during his stay, at which the author was present; and he calls to mind the action of Prim, who placed his hand on Saldanha's shoulder, and significantly observed how much he regretted that Saldanha was not born a Spaniard! His own countryman Espartero, had recently refused to be a candidate for the Crown.

The Marshal arrived at Lisbon before daylight on the morning of the 30th.

A few days afterwards, the Duke de Genoa was put up as a candidate for the Spanish Throne.

To say that the residence of the Marshal was crowded with visitors when his arrival became known at Lisbon, would give but a faint idea of the joy with which he was welcomed. On the 17th of November, he attained his 79th year; and the King himself went to the Pateo do Geraldes to offer his congratulations on that anniversary. His example was followed by almost every officer in garrison at Lisbon; as well as by hundreds of friends and relations.

Whatever tends to prepare the reader for the events which will shortly close the Marshal's long political career may well find a place here. The author does not describe the state of

the country at this time. He leaves that painful duty to the Portuguese themselves. The following letter was addressed to the Marshal, on the 28th, by Sr. Rebello da Silva, himself one of the Ministers, who, at that time, unfortunately governed the country.

"[*Confidential.*]

"S. C., *November the 28th*, 1869.

"MY DEAR MARSHAL,

"I have been, as you are aware, suffering from bronchitis; and was only yesterday able to attend at the office, from which I returned much worse. I saw Lobo d'Avila on the day you honoured me with your visit; and we conversed for some time. Since then, I know nothing, as my illness has forced me into inactivity. The sad state of affairs is such, that I do not wonder at your Excellency feeling low-spirited. I feel the same; and to such an extent, that my sole desire is to pass my 48th birthday, in April, far away from here. When men like your Excellency think as you have just written to me, what can such men as I do? That which I told your Excellency when the Ministry was formed is being verified—that is to say, the difficulties I foresaw in the condition of public affairs: my desire and resolution is to *get out of all this*, as soon as possible, and as well as I can.

"I trust to see you as soon as I can leave the house. . . .

"L. A. REBELLO DA SILVA."

The 1st of December being the anniversary of the day on which the Portuguese, in 1640, threw off the Spanish yoke, and called the Duke of Bragança to the Throne, the usual patriotic demonstrations took place at the D. Maria Theatre; and, on this occasion, *Vivas* were uttered for Saldanha. To the no small astonishment of those not in the secret, these *Vivas* were replied to by signs of disapproval from various parts of the house.* Saldanha was not, himself, present; and the almost

* It was generally accredited that paid agents of the police took the initiative in this demonstration, in order to afford an opportunity for a counter one.

total absence of his friends from the theatre, on that night, serves to prove that no manifestations in his favour had been intended. As soon as this occurrence became known, the Generals and the greater part of the officers in garrison at Lisbon, together with the members of the Supreme Military Court of Justice, and their Vice-President, determined to wait on the Marshal, at his residence, and to express their disapprobation of conduct, which they viewed in the light of a planned mark of disrespect. On the 5th, they proceeded to the Pateo do Geraldes, when General do Rio Zezere addressed the Marshal as follows :—

"Marshal.—The Commandants of the Brigades, and of the other Corps, and the officers in garrison at Lisbon, profoundly indignant at the demonstrations of disrespect to the illustrious name of your Excellency, which took place at the D. Maria Theatre, got up by ill-directed agents, approach their venerated General, in order to protest most solemnly against such an insult, which they cannot but consider as one equally directed against themselves.

"We are convinced that all our comrades unite with us in this feeling of indignation.

"We beg you to accept the assurance of the great esteem felt for your Excellency, by all those whom you have so often led to victory in support of the reigning dynasty, our national independence, and the liberty of the country."

The Vice-President of the Supreme Military Court of Justice in the name of its other members, then addressed the Marshal with protestations of their veneration for the "chief military glory" of the country.

When the intention of these Generals and Officers had become known to the Government, an order was issued to remove three of the most distinguished, Rio Zezere, Campos, and Damazio, from the Capital to quarters at Valença, Leiria, and Beja. The Marshal, on becoming aware of this, was greatly indignant at so unwarrantable a measure being taken by the Government; and, requesting the Deputations to await his return, he proceeded at once to the Royal Palace. His friends, he saw, were condemned to suffer unmerited punish-

ment for having testified their respect and attachment to him; and it became his duty to exert his influence in their favour. The steps he took we find narrated in a letter addressed by him to the Editor of one of the Lisbon papers of the following day. After referring to the proceedings on the night of the 1st, and the consequent indignation of his comrades and friends, the Marshal declared, that the Deputation which waited on him came with no political intention; and that not a single expression was made use of, either verbal or written, which contained the slightest allusion to the sad condition of the Kingdom, or to the political measures of the Cabinet. "It was not an attempt," wrote the Marshal, "to interfere, in any way, with the government of the State; it was a friendly visit of those who came to embrace and console me, with proofs of their attachment, at a moment when they thought I was in sorrow and affliction. But his Majesty's Government, victims of childish terror, and frightened by the phantoms their own imagination had created, viewed it in another light. Long before this deputation took place, the project for the removal from the Capital of these officers who were considered attached to me, had been discussed, and express orders had been given for that purpose. Their attachment to me was their only crime.

"Officers of every rank and from every branch of the service met at my house. Among them were those whose age and vigour still fit them for active service in the brave Portuguese Army; as well as many who, though oppressed by the weight of years, still place at their country's disposal their talents and experience. The addresses which appeared in your paper were read; I refer to them in order to call attention to the entire absence of any allusion to politics. I replied, as was my duty, by returning thanks for so high a proof of esteem, friendship, and devotedness; and then, and only then, it was that I was informed of the outrageous act which the Government was meditating. On the knowledge of this, I felt the course I was bound in honour to pursue; and I am not one to hesitate when a sacred duty has to be performed.

"I went, at once, to the Palace and there, respectfully, I

explained to his Majesty how harsh was the course taken by the responsible advisers of the Crown. This was my only resource when Parliament was not sitting. During the audience with which his Majesty honoured me, I had an opportunity of laying before him my opinion upon public affairs; and this I did with the candour and loyalty I always display, when any member of our glorious Dynasty desires to hear it—a Dynasty which my brave comrades and myself assisted to establish in this Kingdom."

We learn that his Majesty, very justly, threw the responsibility of these imprudent measures on his Ministers, as became a constitutional Sovereign; and, that the Marshal, on returning to his comrades with this answer, strongly recommended them to respect the law, and to submit themselves to the constituted authorities.

On the same day as that on which the Marshal's letter was published, (the 6th) Generals Damazio and Campos left the Capital for their respective destinations; and General do Rio Zezere, who had pleaded ill-health, was imprisoned in the Castle of S. Julião.

There were passages in the Marshal's long letter to the Editor, which so alarmed the Government respecting his intentions, that he received an immediate intimation from the Minister to return to his post at Paris. Space does not allow us to insert the correspondence which followed on this occasion. Suffice it to say, that the Marshal declined to serve under a Ministry which he considered was leading the country to ruin; and, that, on the 7th, the King signed his exoneration as Envoy to Paris.

The supporters of the Government endeavoured to misrepresent the part the Marshal had taken in striving to bring about D. Fernando's acceptance of the Crown of Spain: but as it is unnecessary to refute their assertions, we may leave that subject for the present.

Much had been written consequent on the call made on Saldanha to form a Ministry in the preceding month of January; and on various other questions which had attracted public attention; as well as respecting the part Sr. D. Luiz had

taken in them. A letter of considerable length, written by the Marshal after the events of December the 5th, and addressed to Sr. D. Fernando, confirms much that we have stated; but it was of a nature so private, that to give it publicity *with all its details*, might give pain to many who were concerned in them.

On the 19th of January, 1870, the Marshal was summoned to attend a Council of State to advise the King respecting a proposal of his Ministers for a dissolution of Parliament. Though unable to attend personally, in consequence of a blow on his leg which confined him to his room, he sent a written opinion adverse to the Ministerial proposal. Shortly afterwards, he resumed his seat as a Peer; and, on that occasion, he reminded the House that eleven times during the last six and thirty years had he declined to be Prime Minister, although he had often assisted in the formation of Cabinets. He had no ambition for power; and, at the present moment, was entirely devoted to the introduction of a system of tramway, into the country, which he believed would contribute greatly to its prosperity.* He declared that it had been the wish of the King, who ardently desired to put the country in a state of defence, to see the Command-in-Chief re-established, and offered to him; but that the Ministers had opposed this measure, under pretence of its illegality; "whereas," observed the Marshal, "their real motive was the fear of losing their places." For this, he continued, they had employed agents of police at D. Maria's Theatre, to shout against the restoration of the Command-in-Chief; "I care not," added the Marshal, "for such a circumstance; I am satisfied with it being recorded upon the Minutes of the sittings of this Chamber, that, on that night, the Duke de Loulé was the Home Minister; and D. João da Camara, the Civil Governor of Lisbon."

The Marshal then reproached the Ministers for their illegal and despotic conduct with respect to Baron do Rio Zezere, whom they imprisoned in the Castle of S. Julião, for his having headed the deputation of Officers who had addressed him after the occurrences of the 1st of December. "But,"

* At this period the Larmanjat tramway was opened—the original one which was constructed entirely at the Marshal's expense.

added he, "I ought not to wonder at the services of so many officers, who have so often exposed their lives in the defence of King, country, and liberty, being unappreciated by a Minister of War, who never did a day's service in the ranks, nor ever heard the whistling of a ball."

Saldanha complained of the revolutionary ideas encouraged by successive Ministries, which were supported by masonic clubs; of the mal-practices at elections, of which three had taken place during two years; of the little consideration shewn to the clergy; of the absence of all moral and religious feeling; of the state of political corruption; of the neglect of the Country's defences, and of the colonies; and of the condition of the finances. He urged, if not too late, that steps should be taken to rescue the country from destruction.

And what was the condition of the Press, at this period?

Towards the close of 1869 had appeared the first number of the "Republicano:" "The People's Paper."

To say that this paper advocated a Republic, and the expulsion of the Dynasty, would afford no idea of its scandalous abuse of everything sacred. In an allusion to the Marshal, it did allow that he possessed almost every good quality; but declared that he was quite unfit, by the prejudices of his rank and education, ever to become the President of the future Republic!

Another equally scandalous paper, the "Lanterna," commenced in 1868, proclaimed, in its 25th Number, the necessity for "ABDICATION" and a "REGENCY:" and, in Number 34, attention was drawn, in a significant manner, to the fate of Maximilian in Mexico!! In Number 35, the attacks upon the King and others, in an article headed "The Vision," became so scandalous and insulting, that the printer was prosecuted, and condemned to two months imprisonment, and the payment of all costs. The further publication of the paper was also prohibited.

Although republican ideas existed in Portugal, we know but of one writer who had the assurance to recommend them to Saldanha—and that one did so anonymously. A letter is before us, in which its author reproaches him for having used

that "abominable phrase our August Sovereign." Not so secret were the projects of many of those who aimed at the deposition of the King; either to proclaim a Regency, or to found a Republic. Ten years have now elapsed since these schemes were agitated; and Sr. D. Luiz is still seated on his Throne. But, in 1870, the country associated the name of the King with the unpopularity of his Ministers; and it is well known that, at the commencement of that year, not only were plots contrived against the security of Sr. D. Luiz; but that overtures were made to Saldanha to ascertain if, in case of the dethronement of the King, he would accept the Regency in the name of the next heir. An outbreak in different provinces was planned to take place on the 22nd of May, the consequences of which might have been fatal to the Dynasty, if Saldanha had not persuaded the prime movers of these projects to relinquish them, on the assurance that he himself, would guarantee the dismissal of the unpopular Ministry. To carry out this promise it was, that he, as we shall learn in the following chapter, risked, in his 80th year, the loss of life, of reputation, and of all he held dear.

CHAPTER XV.

1870.

Unjust legislation—Elections in Portugal—State of the country—Sr. Barros e Cunha—Republicanism—Proposed revolution—Conversation with the King—19th of May—Coup d'Etat—Alarm of the Ministers—Their measures—Saldanha proceeds to the Palace—Interview with the King—Unfortunate occurrence—Dismissal of Loulé—Saldanha Premier—Edmond About—Government Circular—The Cabinet—Congratulations from Pio IX. and Cardinal Antonelli—Spanish candidature—Letter to the King—Olozaga—Prince Hohenzollern—Negotiations with D. Fernando—Ministerial measures—Saldanha quits office—Letter to Vallada—Accepts mission to London—Marquis de Sá Minister—Chambers meet—Their proceedings.

THE Chambers had been dissolved,—contrary to the advice given by Saldanha as Councillor of State,—and a new Parliament was assembled on the 30th of March. In the speech from the Throne, the King acknowledged the "gravity of the circumstances" under which they met. The Ministers presented no less than thirteen measures intended to meet the financial difficulties. During the two preceding years,—to use the words of a French writer of the period,—"la misère du trésor a grandi au milieu d'un va-et-vient continuel de ministres impuissants ou incapables."* The unscrupulous means by which the Government sought to raise the revenue, may be judged of by the law they had been able to carry through the previous Parliament, (the law of August 28th, 1869), which rendered compulsory the sale of all corporate property; whether ecclesiastical, founded for the support of the clergy and for the repairs of religious edifices; whether belonging to lay corporations instituted, in former times, for charitable purposes—such as almshouses, hospitals, schools, and other Institutions; or

* Within these two years there were eight Finance Ministers.

municipal common lands. It was enacted that the monies arising from these sales should be invested in the public debt of the country; and that the interest thereon should be paid to the Corporate Bodies, in lieu of the revenues they had hitherto received.* The Ministers, doubtless, saw in this measure a sure means of interesting a numerous class in the stability of Government. But what will be the consequence to that class, if, some day, the country becomes bankrupt? or, by a revolution —or even by temporary financial difficulties—should be compelled to discontinue payment of the interest of its debt? How many thousands of all classes would be at once deprived of their daily bread; and how unfortunate would be their position!

In order to obtain a majority in the Chamber, the Government had displayed a very unscrupulous energy at the recent elections, where the blood of the electors had been shed. One Member, when the Cortes met, rose to protest against such proceedings; but the majority would not allow the subject to be discussed! Upon which, a number of Deputies, in order to express their marked disapprobation of this arbitrary conduct, immediately quitted the House.

As the elections, in Portugal, are held in the parish churches, very discreditable scenes sometimes take place in them; and as an armed force is generally marched into the town previous to an election—in order to secure its freedom!—a collision be-

* Already by previous laws, in 1861 and 1866, the redemption of corporate property, and the investment of the proceeds in the public debt, had been authorized. The law now referred to embraced property which was hitherto exempted. It enjoined a prompt conversion, without any consideration for the loss which might result therefrom to the parties interested; and allowed all monies thus acquired to be at the disposal of the Government, which was authorized, in exchange, to issue Bonds to those who had been thus despoiled. The said laws empowered the tenants holding under these various Corporate Bodies to redeem, within a stated period and at 20 years' purchase, the lands they were in the enjoyment of. Such lands as were not thus redeemed were ordered to be sold by public auction. These laws had nothing in common with those which, on the establishment of a Liberal Government in Portugal, confiscated all Conventual property.

By a more recent and not less unjustifiable measure, the Government at the present day takes possession of all monies which the law compels executors and others to deposit during litigation; and which, hitherto, had been considered safe in the custody of those whom the law appointed as receivers.

tween the military and the electors is not unfrequent. On several occasions, the people had been fired upon; and, in one instance, where the electors had resolved to pass the night in the Church, in order to prevent the ballot box from being tampered with, the Church was cleared by the military, at the cost of some lives. It is said, that the Papal Nuncio thought it his duty to remonstrate against the subjects of his Majesty being *executed* within the precincts of a sacred edifice.

The Press teemed with complaints respecting the miserable condition into which the country had fallen. "The situation of Portugal," wrote one editor, "becomes every day more critical. . . . We are on the eve of a general conflagration. The Government endeavours by an armed force to stifle the voices which are raised against its spoliations. It pursues its guilty course, leaving pools of blood in its path.

"The complaints raised at Elvas; the meetings of Amarante; the risings in the Algarves; at Castro Daire; at S. Pedro do Sul; and at Vizeu; afford formal contradiction to the telegrams which the Government lays before the Côrtes."

If we may credit the assertion of a well-known Deputy, Sr. Barros e Cunha, Portugal, at this time stood much in need of some exceptionally strong measures. He has, since this period himself been a Cabinet Minister; but, shortly previous to the epoch of which we write, he gave the following account of the condition of the country:—

"We have a *deficit* equal to half the amount of the revenue; we have a public debt which absorbs half of that revenue; the people refuse to pay more taxes; we have no fortified towns; nor artillery; nor cavalry which could make a charge; nor infantry capable of marching; nor arms of modern type; nor soldiers who know how to fire those they have; nor a national militia; nor marine; nor colonies; nor allies. . . . .

"The crisis is serious. It is not only a financial one. The crisis is general."

But if the voice of the people, and a considerable portion of the Press, was simply adverse to the Ministry, there was a still more dangerous feeling revived in the country which threatened the Monarchy itself. However insignificant may have been

the writer of it, the following extract from a paper proves a spirit of disloyalty, which the Ministry was powerless to suppress. It required the strong arm of Saldanha, once more, to save the country from anarchy, and the Sovereign from exile. The writer we refer to, thus expressed himself:

"The desires of the people are for a Republic; as being the form of government most in accordance with their principles: as the only one which can save the country from the dangers which threaten it." *

Such were the principles which were openly proclaimed on the 17th of May 1870; and it must be confessed, that they expressed the wishes of a considerable, though factious, party. It was well known at this time, that in the Minho, in Tras-os-Montes, in both the Beiras, in the Algarves, and in Lisbon, plans were in agitation for a revolution, which, it was proposed, should terminate in the expulsion of the King, and the Regency of Saldanha. Ascribing, in a great measure, the general discontent to the mis-government of the Ministry, the Marshal had, on several occasions, begged the King to dismiss them, in order to give no pretence for so fatal a revolution. His Majesty replied; that, twice, already, had he changed his Ministry on account of outbreaks in the streets of Lisbon; that his having done so had then been ascribed to a want of energy on his part; and that again to dismiss a Cabinet merely on account of a threatened revolution would go far to confirm such an opinion.

More than once had the influence and counsels of Saldanha been able to prevent the catastrophe; but, at length, he received letters, on the 18th of May, with the most positive assurances that it could no longer be delayed; and that a rising would take place on the 22d. On this, he immediately proceeded to the Palace, and again urged the dismissal of the

* Similar incendiary language had already been printed, and largely circulated in Lisbon, at the close of the previous year:

"Citizens! A duty of national honour calls us to arms. To arms against the Palace! To arms against the Crown! To arms against the King! Let us rush to arms; and let our war-cry be, 'Down with the King! Viva a Republica!'"

Ministers. His Majesty wavered; and, as we may presume, having refused compliance, Saldanha said; "Sire, I am unwilling to be considered ambitious, or disloyal to the Crown: but, I might appear so, if I did not endeavour to prevent a revolution which should oblige me to become the Regent. I will, therefore, put myself at the head of a revolution, such as I know I shall be able to guide and control for your Majesty's advantage; and be assured that I will not, in my old age, dishonour my steadfast principles of loyalty."

The situation was now critical. It had been reported to the Marshal, that the Ministers, in council, had proposed to order his arrest—to bell the cat—and place him on board a ship-of-war, which was, immediately, to leave the Tagus with sealed orders! We do not give credit to this report; nor do we believe that any Portuguese—worthy of the name—would have undertaken such a task.

On leaving the royal Palace, the Marshal at once proceeded to the house of D. Miguel Ximenes, whom he found unwell and confined to his bed. But this brave officer, on learning the necessity for immediate action, arose and went actively to work. The remainder of that day was occupied in carrying out the Marshal's plans, which were effected with the utmost secrecy.

Shortly after 11 o'clock that night, all visitors had left the Pateo do Giraldes; and the Marshal was alone with his wife and daughter. Desiring to be awakened at one hour after midnight, he laid himself down and slept soundly. The two ladies remained in anxious conversation. On being aroused, the Marshal put on his uniform, and, after taking a cup of tea, was prepared to set out on his romantic and hazardous undertaking.

In the mean time, a portion of the 5th Caçadores, who were quartered in the Castle of St. George, left their barracks, and marched towards Saldanha's residence. Here they were met by about 200 soldiers of the 3rd Artillery, commanded by Captain Lapa; and, shortly afterwards, the 7th Infantry made its appearance.

Not an Aide-de-Camp had remained after the guests had

taken their leave. Such as had been present had retired to their homes to put on their uniforms, and return at the appointed hour. The Marshal's Aide-de-Camp and nephew, D. Francisco de Almeida, relates a pleasant story of the dilemma in which he found himself, at midnight, when he discovered that his wife had the key of the drawers where his uniform was kept. D. Carlota had a small party that evening; and, their house being situated in that part of the city which leads directly from the Public Offices to the Royal Palace at Ajuda, her assembled friends had, more than once, after midnight, remarked the rapid passage of men on horseback, whom D. Francisco, from the window, had perceived were Government Messengers. As no time was to be lost,—and anxious respecting what might be going forward at the Pateo do Giraldes,—he was compelled to ask for his uniform; and, by so doing, he aroused a suspicion in the mind of his wife that he was about to be engaged in some perilous undertaking. Her first thought was to combat his intention; but Almeida, assisted by his amiable and attached sister, soon convinced her that duty to the Marshal must supersede all other considerations.

In spite of the secrecy that had been observed, the Government was suspicious that some movement adverse to itself was to take place on the night of the 18th of May. The King, whatever he might have suspected, had, apparently, kept silence. We are informed by the Minister of War, in a statement he afterwards made to the Cortes respecting the events of that night, that he and the Duke de Loulé took whatever precautions were in their power to resist any outbreak. They consulted with the General commanding the Division at Lisbon; and with the Commandant of the Municipal Guard. Having done so, he tells us that the Ministers were assembled at the house of Sr. Braamcamp, for the purpose of discussing some financial project, when, at half-past 11 at night, they received information that there was considerable agitation, and an appearance of sedition, in the neighbourhood of the Castle of St. George. On this, the Minister sent for the General: and, soon after, as he did not make his appearance so quickly as was desired, he wrote and desired him to send a force to the

Castle to disarm, if he could, the supposed revolters; and, if he could not, at least not to allow them to emerge from their quarters. Another force was ordered to a position between Lisbon and the Ajuda Palace: and the troops stationed at Belem were to march to garrison, and, if necessary, to defend the Palace itself. It was probably, in furtherance of these orders, the last only of which was carried out, that the messengers were heard galloping, after midnight, in that direction.

After writing to the General, we learn that the Minister of War, accompanied by his colleagues, proceeded to the Carmo barracks, which they reached after midnight, and were received by the Commandant of the Municipal Guard, who expressed his astonishment at their appearance, and assured them that there was no cause for alarm. But the Civil Governor, on his arrival, brought a different account. He confirmed the report of the revolt of the 5th Caçadores, by declaring that he had met them on their march; and that he, himself, had had a narrow escape.

On this certainty of an outbreak, the Minister at once ordered the Commandant of the Municipal Guard to send a force of infantry and cavalry to intercept the revolters on their line of march. To this the Commandant demurred; and declared that he did not consider himself possessed of sufficient force to do so; and was, moreover, in ignorance of what troops had taken part in the outbreak. "Well then," said the Minister, "you can, at least, send a squadron to the Rato." * The Commandant replied; that he had very few cavalry, but would call in the pickets; and, in the meantime, he would dispatch a serjeant to that square, in order to learn what force had been seen to pass there. He did so; but, when relating these occurrences, the Minister observed, amidst the laughter of the House; "The serjeant never made his reappearance!"

"I then proposed," said the Minister, "that the 2nd Caçadores, the 16th Infantry, and a battery of Artillery, should converge towards the Rato, and reduce the revolters to subjection." But, unfortunately for the Government, when this force

* A square, not far from the Marshal's residence, through which he must of necessity pass on his way to the Ajuda.

reached the Rato, the Marshal had disappeared. A report was shortly afterwards spread that the 2d Caçadores had dispersed; and that the 16th Infantry had followed the Marshal!

"In these circumstances," observed the Minister, "my colleagues and I said to each other; if the whole garrison takes part in this outbreak, we have nothing left to do; let us be off: but, in order to see what force we can depend upon, let us gather them to one spot. We cannot now prevent the Marshal from going on his way."

This force met in Black Horse Square; whence the Minister sent a telegram to the King, informing him of what had taken place; and that the troops which remained faithful would immediately march on the Ajuda, to restore order and free his Majesty from coercion. The telegram, as the Minister informs us, was sent at half-past 5 A.M.; after which he proceeded on foot, with his colleagues, to the War Office. But, on their way, they were met by the following message from the King:— "I am sending for the Duke de Loulé, President of the Council, and I will settle matters with him."

The Minister, then determined that their forces should march on the Ajuda to support the Duke de Loulé; and reduce the revolted to obedience: but, on the march there, the General who led them received positive orders from the King to turn back; which he did. The Duke de Loulé, on returning to his colleagues, informed them, that they were dismissed; and that the King had charged the Duke de Saldanha to form a new administration.

Towards the conclusion of this narration of events, which was given by the Minister of War in explanation of his conduct; he said: "I beg, on this subject, that all possible reserve and delicacy may be observed. With respect to whether or not the Chief of the State was under coercion, every one must judge according to his own belief; but I am of opinion, that it is better not to discuss the question."

While the occurrences which we have related were going forward in the City, the Marshal had marched his small force to the Ajuda; where, on his arrival, at about 3 o'clock A.M. he found the Square in front of the Palace occupied by a force of

infantry, some cavalry, and a battery of artillery, which had obeyed the orders of the Government. Saldanha advanced alone; and, passing through the line of infantry, which opened at his approach, he was received at the gate by one of his Majesty's Aides-de-Camp in uniform. Having stated his wish to speak with the King, the Aide-de-Camp withdrew, for a few minutes, and returned with an order for his admittance.

The reader cannot fail to observe how singularly dramatic—even romantic—appeared the situation of the aged Marshal as he fearlessly advanced, through a hostile force, to place himself, alone and unattended, in the power of his opponents. But he found no Ministers at the side of their Sovereign to counsel him, either for good or evil. Hours had elapsed since reports had reached them, that an armed force meditated marching, at early morn, upon the royal Palace. The Minister of War threw an air of mystery over the occurrences of this night, when he spoke, in Parliament, of the revelations he will have to make, at some future day, when political passions have become more calmed. The Author, also, could add much that would throw light on Portugal's modern history; but, guided by a motive similar to that which influences the Minister, he is unwilling to be more explicit.

Abstaining from the details of the conversation which took place between Sr. D. Luiz and Saldanha; we will merely observe that the meeting was very friendly; that the King fully appreciated the Marshal's loyal motives; expressed his willingness to dismiss the Ministry; and desired that the Duke de Loulé should immediately be sent for.

Saldanha himself descended to the Courtyard for the purpose of ordering D. Francisco de Almeida, to set out, with 20 lancers, and escort the Duke de Loulé to the Palace. This officer had scarcely mounted his horse when he heard a discharge of musketry, which brought to the ground a corporal in his immediate vicinity. The fire was returned by some soldiers of the 5th Caçadores; and, in this manner, were three or four killed and a few wounded, by an unfortunate act for which no one could account; nor was it ever known from whom the order to fire emanated.

Startled by what he had seen, D. Francisco hastened to the Palace gate, from which the Marshal was just emerging to enquire the cause of the shots. By his orders, the call to cease firing was at once sounded. At this moment, there appeared some stir amongst the corps of artillery which was placed in front of the Palace, and which considered itself under Government orders. One Mendonça e Brito, a Captain in that service, was, himself, about to apply the fusee to a gun, when it was snatched from his hand by one who rushed up to him. Saldanha immediately came forward and ordered the imprudent officer into custody.* The command of the aged Marshal was not disputed. After this, he returned to the Palace, and, as we have already informed the reader, the Duke de Loulé and his colleagues were dismissed from office.

Much was written, and various were the opinions respecting this bold Coup d'État of the 19th of May. To minds imbued with strict constitutional principles—and to Englishmen especially—such a proceeding would, at first, appear inexcusable when judged of from their own point of view. The author is guided in forming his own opinion by knowledge which satisfies him that the Marshal's act was, unfortunately, a very necessary one. He once more saved the country from anarchy. If any one should enquire: "what then is the use of your constitutional systems?" he must confess that, as far as his experience of them in Portugal goes, he is unable to give a satisfactory reply. And if any one pretends that redress for the real grievances of the people, or for a monstrous abuse of power, has, hitherto, been obtained, in Portugal, through the Cortes, he must be very little acquainted with its parliamentary history.

There were some who surmised that the whole affair was arranged beforehand between the King and Saldanha! And, perhaps, the words of the Minister of War, which we have already quoted, may have gone far to encourage this opinion. Others censured the Marshal's act in unmeasured terms; whilst some foreign newspapers gave a romantic and even sensational turn

* A few of the Marshal's political opponents got up a subscription some time afterwards, and presented this officer with a sword!

to the occurrence. The King, said one, was aroused from his slumbers, and "forced to witness the butchery of his faithful guards at the palace gates." And, he went on to say, that Saldanha, in his eightieth year, had broken into the sanctuary of his Sovereign's home, and subjected royalty to unmerited indignity!

In a leading article which condemned the conduct of Saldanha on this occasion, the *Times*, rather inappropriately, enquired, what would be thought, in England, if Sir Alexander Woodford with his Fusileers were to march, with a similar intent, on Buckingham Palace? yet it nevertheless felt compelled to add; "It may be, if leisure is allowed to him at the close of his protracted career, that the power thus violently obtained will be beneficially employed." When this writer further observed that, "there is something so extravagant in the idea of a nation crouching at the feet of an octogenarian General," might he not have perceived that the Nation was not crouching at his feet; but rather that the aged Marshal enjoyed the entire confidence of that Nation?

A French writer, M. About, when the news reached Paris, amused his readers with an account of the event, which he declared strange to those *who have not the Key to the enigma!* M. About wrote as follows:—

Le télégraphe nous apprend un matin que le duc de Saldanha, un jeune homme de soixante-dix-huit ans, s'est rendu au palais du roi, une heure après minuit, avec quelques camarades qui formaient, comme par hasard, six bataillons. Le palais, par un hasard assez invraisemblable chez nous, était gardé par une petite armée; il y avait de l'artillerie, et l'artillerie n'a pas l'habitude de camper même dans les cours sans un certain nombre de canons. Donc la poudre a parlé la première, on s'est un peu tué de part et d'autre; puis, comme les soldats sont des hommes, et comme les vivants sont par nature ennemis de leur propre mort, on s'est expliqué, entendu, réconcilié, embrassé sous les yeux d'un jeune et intéressant monarque qui assistait de sa fenêtre à ces pourparlers foudroyants. Le duc de Saldanha a franchi sans difficultés ultérieures le seuil du palais; le roi, qui le connaît et l'estime, l'a reçu à bras ouverts et l'a

prié, séance tenante, de composer un ministère, tout neuf. On sait déjà qu'un des principaux membres du cabinet sera l'évêque de Vizeu, un évêque libéral et démocrate, comme il ne s'en rencontre point parmi nous. Le télégraphe, que ne tarit point en nouvelles invraisemblables, annonce que le premier mouvement du ministère libéral a été de fermer les Cortès, ou la Chambre des députés. Ah! l'étrange aventure, aux yeux des bonnes gens, qui n'en ont plas la clef!

During the conference between his Majesty and the Marshal, we have seen that D. Francisco de Almeida was sent with 20 lancers to conduct the Duke de Loulé, in safety, to the Palace. On the Premier's arrival, he resigned his Office; and the King, at once, signed the Decree of the Marshal's nomination as Minister of War.

Beyond the unfortunate loss of life which had occurred so unaccountably, there was no further accident to deplore. In the morning, when the shops were opened, business went forward as usual; and the only public signs that anything of importance had taken place, were a salute of 21 guns from the Castle of St. George, and the innumerable rockets sent up as *feux de joie* from every part of the City.

Satisfied that he had rendered a fresh service to his country, and actuated by no further ambition, Saldanha, on the evening of the same day on which these events had occurred, returned to the Palace, and, with the greatest sincerity, tendered his resignation of those offices he had accepted in the early morning. The King refused to acquiesce to his wishes; and, furthermore, charged him on the following day, with the Foreign Portfolio—*ad interim*. In consequence of this appointment, Saldanha drew up, and addressed to the Portuguese diplomatic Agents in foreign countries, the following Circular:

CIRCULAR.

"The anti-constitutional and sanguinary proceedings of the late Administration had agitated the whole country. Some unexpected and trivial cause, might have produced a conflagration so general, that a simple change of Ministry would have been unable to extinguish it.

"I had many times the honour of saying to his Majesty, that his persistence in retaining the Ministry might be fatal to him. I reminded him of Charles X. and Polignac; of Louis Philippe and Guizot; of Isabella II. and Gonzalez Bravo.

"Upon more than one occasion, I said to his Majesty, that if, in 1851, contrary to the general expectation, it had been my good fortune to save his august mother's Throne, I considered that it would be impossible for me to render a like service to his Majesty, if he did not avert the revolution by a change of Ministry; and I did not hesitate, even, to declare that the object of that revolution was his abdication and my regency. I added that, having eleven times refused to be at the head of an Administration—the last occasion being during his Majesty's reign,—I could not now have the least desire for such a post; and, therefore, could assure his Majesty that I would support any Ministry which would act as a safety-valve to free the country from the revolution which was imminent.

"The King, with his usual benignity, always replied: That he had been accused of weakness in having dismissed the Aguiar-Fontes Cabinet on account of a popular disturbance; that the same accusation had been repeated, when, from a similar motive, he had dismised the Ministry of which Count de Avila was head; and, consequently, he would only dismiss the Loulé Ministry for some very weighty reason.

"On the morning of Wednesday, the 18th inst., I again laid before his Majesty the dangerous situation in which we were; and how imminent was the revolution which threatened us. Again I asked for the nomination of another Ministry. The King replied as hitherto; and I resolved to expose my life, and even my reputation, to save him.

"From the Palace I returned home; and, at 3 o'clock in the morning, the 2d Lancers, the 3rd Artillery, 5th Caçadores, and the 1st and 7th Infantry, occupied the Square at Ajuda; whilst six hundred civilians took possession of the Castle of St. George, from which they withdrew, at 7 o'clock in the morning, without having been seen in the streets of Lisbon. The city continued its usual occupations, and suffered no other inconvenience than that resulting from the repeated salvoes of artillery with which,

at daybreak, the civilian forces, from the castle, celebrated our triumph. The change of Ministry was everywhere received with the greatest manifestations of joy. The troops which had been scattered over the northern provinces returned at once to their usual quarters. Perfect tranquillity and contentment reigns throughout the country; and, humbly returning thanks to Divine Providence, I am satisfied that I have averted a civil war which was imminent; and, at the close of my life, have once more contributed to strengthen the throne of Sr. D. Luiz and his dynasty; the institutions which I have always defended; and the freedom and independence of my country, which would have been endangered by Civil War.

"On the same day, the 19th, I went, in the evening, to the Palace and had the honour of saying to the King: 'Sire! Your Majesty was pleased to charge me, this morning, with the formation of a Cabinet; but the Square in front of your Palace was, at that moment, filled with soldiers; now that it is empty, I am come to place my resignation in your Majesty's hands, and to request that you will deign to confide to some one else the formation of a Cabinet; assuring your Majesty, upon my honour, that the only terms I ask, in exchange for my sincere support of the new Administration, are that it shall not be composed of the enemies of my friends.' His Majesty, in the most gracious manner, was pleased to reply, that he held to that which he had told me in the morning.

"At the commencement of this Circular, I accused the past Administration of being anti-constitutional and sanguinary. I do not make accusations without proofs. I could present many, but will confine myself to two.

"By Art. 74 § 4 of the Constitutional Charter, the Chief of the State (*Poder Moderador*) has authority to dissolve the Chamber, *whenever the welfare of the Country requires it.*

"On the 2nd of last January, the King opened parliament; and the following paragraphs were in the Speech from the Throne:

"'It is always with renewed satisfaction that I perform one of the most solemn acts of constitutional government in opening Parliament to the legally appointed representatives of the country.

"'To the accomplishment of the noble and elevated, but arduous mission with which you are charged, you will conscientiously devote your attention, ability, and power; and I feel certain that, with the Divine assistance, you will answer the expectations of the country in supporting its honour and credit; and add to the glory of its name and people.'

"Eighteen days after this, without the least cause or motive for supposing that *the welfare of the country required it;* without even the slightest sign of hostility in the Chambers, the Ministry dissolved them. Blood was shed in various places. In the Church at Machico the electors, knowing that the ballot box was to be tampered with, desired, during the night, to remain in the building in the presence of the ministerial agents. Nothing could be more natural and less offensive. But the people were fired upon and ejected. Some were killed and others wounded: and the Temple of GOD was profaned.

"I repeat that I could produce many other facts to prove that the late Administration was anti-constitutional and sanguinary.

"Religion, Justice, Morality, the Throne, National Independence, Economy, and Liberty, are the seven words which sum up the ministerial Programme.

"The new Cabinet will especially have in view the organization of the finances. As the first step to that reform, the Government will accept, integrally, all contracts entered into by its predecessors. It will scrupulously carry out all existing engagements; and will act with the strictest honesty towards those who may henceforward advance money to the Portuguese Treasury.

"The financial condition will be improved by means of well planned economical reforms; and, especially by an increase of the revenue. The Government is about to give its most serious attention to this subject. The Ministry over which I preside possesses the confidence of the public; and all acknowledge the necessity for the greatest energy to surmount the difficulties of the Treasury. The perfect tranquillity which reigns throughout the country, and which, most assuredly, will not be disturbed, is a further guarantee that the Government will meet with no great opposition to the execution of its plans.

"Being now acquainted with the causes which led to the events of the 19th inst.; and with the ministerial Programme; your Excellency will do all in your power to enlighten, upon these points, the Government to which you are accredited; as well as the more influential personages of the country.

"GOD preserve your Excellency, etc.

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

A French writer replied with the following just observations to some adverse criticisms respecting the recent occurrences. Saldanha had, himself, when an emigrant, been connected with the French Press; and, nowhere was the upright honesty of his character better appreciated than at Paris.

"Nous avons, à diverses reprises, parlé dans cette feuille du maréchal Saldanha, l'homme le plus populaire du Portugal; nous avons essayé de retracer la vie si bien remplie de ce grand citoyen dont le courage, la bravoure égalent seuls le patriotisme. —Et on voudrait que ce soldat illustre livrât sa patrie aux agitations dans le but de faire triompher des ambitions particulières! Non.—Le duc de Saldanha a vu le Portugal, livré à des imprévoyances qui le conduisaient directement à une révolution, il a voulu arracher sa patrie à un danger certain; quels que soient les résultats de l'avenir, nous restons convaincu qu'une grande pensée, une pensée patriotique a été le seul mobile du *pronunciamento* du 19 mai."

The new Ministry was formed as follows:

DUKE DE SALDANHA	*War; and Foreign Affairs.*
ANTONIO RODRIGUES SAMPAIO . . .	*Home.*
JOSÉ DIAS FERREIRA	*Justice; and Finance.*
D. ANTONIO DA COSTA	*Marine.*
MARQUIS DE ANGEJA	*Public Works.*

Some changes were made in the Ministry, during its continuance in office, by the entrance of D. Luiz da Camara Leme and the Count de Magalhães; and the retirement of Sampaio and Angeja.

The author has before him many letters and telegrams from

all parts of Portugal, and even of Europe, congratulating the Duke on the success of the 19th of May. The Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of Rome was desired, both by His Holiness and by Cardinal Antonelli, to express their "great satisfaction" at his advent to power; and to "congratulate the Marshal in their names;" which the Chargé d'Affaires writes, he did immediately by telegram. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, shortly afterwards, wrote to the Marshal with the same intent.

But we must here interrupt our narrative and return to a subject in which Saldanha was, partially, concerned.

The reader will recollect the attempts which, in the previous year, had, unsuccessfully, been made to induce Sr. D. Fernando to become a candidate for the Throne of Spain. These attempts were renewed at the instigation of Marshal Prim, and were supported by the Emperor Napoleon, who was greatly averse to the establishment of a Spanish Republic. Shortly after the change of Ministry on the 19th, the Opposition papers, having no better pretence, strove to attack Saldanha by the cry of: "To arms, citizens! The country is sold to the Spaniards." Now, if there was one man more than another within the length and breadth of Portugal, who would have opposed the union of the two monarchies under one Sovereign, that man was, certainly, Saldanha! In the whole course of the author's long friendship with the Marshal—from 1827 to 1876—he never heard from him an expression which could be construed into a desire for such a union.

The unsettled state of Spain and the consequent danger to Portugal; the prospect of having a republican form of government in a country so near to his own; and the hope to prevent the wars which threatened Europe were sufficient motives for his renewed desire to see Sr. D. Fernando on the throne of Spain. He was well acquainted with the noble qualities of that Prince, with whom he had been associated for so many years on so many difficult occasions; and he felt assured that none other was so well qualified to bring happiness and prosperity to Spain; while, at the same time, his accession would be a guarantee for the independence of Portugal.

Espartero had, already, made known, in a letter to Prim that he would decline the Crown of Spain, even if elected by the Cortes. The young Prince of Hohenzollern, who was married to a sister of the King of Portugal, had long been talked of; but it was not until the commencement of July that the Spanish Regency publicly brought forward that Prince as a candidate for the Throne. The consequences of this step were immediately foreseen by the Marshal; who, knowing the feelings of the Emperor Napoleon on that subject, endeavoured, once more, to persuade Sr. D. Fernando to accept the Spanish Crown. He, therefore, on the 9th, addressed him in the following letter.

"LISBON, *July 9th*, 1870.

"SIRE,

"The dangers which threaten Europe are immense; the future appears now more threatening than it has ever been since the commencement of the great French Revolution.

"The association of working men represented by the Congresses lately held in various parts of Europe, places, beyond doubt, the existence of a league of brute force against society as at present constituted. The speeches delivered at all those meetings have shewn, without any attempt at concealment, that Socialism and Communism are the objects of these associations.

"It is under such circumstances, that a cause for complications has arisen by the nomination of a Prussian Prince as King of Spain. When, in May 1869, at the pressing request of the Princess Mathilde, I had the honour of enquiring of the Emperor, if he would oppose the ascent of the Prince of Hohenzollern to the throne of Spain, he appeared to acquiesce; but M. Rouher, on the following day, informed me that he and the whole Ministry would oppose it; and that the entire French Nation would side with them in that opposition. Your Majesty is aware of all that has happened since the unexpected selection of the Prince of Hohenzollern, and his acceptance of the Spanish Crown.

"The hatred the French have for the Prussians is only equalled by the hatred of the Prussians to them. The latest telegrams inform us, that the various Powers are endeavouring

to get the nomination of the Prince cancelled: but can any one imagine, that the Prince accepted, so decisively, the Spanish Crown, unless by the positive desire of King William? Can any one who knows the pride of the Prussians, since the battle of Sadowa, imagine that they will allow their King so to humiliate them as to withdraw his consent, in face of a formal threat of war made by the French Government? And if war should break out,—in the present terrible state of perfection to which fire-arms have been brought,—hundreds, nay hundreds of thousands of victims will, undoubtedly, be the consequence. But, supposing (which I do not admit as possible) that the King of Prussia humbles himself before the threats of the French Nation; and that the Prince of Hohenzollern withdraws his acceptance of the Spanish Throne, will not the dangers which threaten Portugal be increased? At the moment when the Spanish Minister announced to me, on the part of his Government, that the Regent and his Ministers would, on the 20th, propose the Prince of Hohenzollern,—who had already accepted,—General Prim declared to me, that he had passed the *Rubicon*.

"From other sources I have learned, that they count upon 220 votes in favour of the Prince; but that if (which is not expected) the Prince should withdraw his consent, the Republic will be proclaimed on the 28th.

"I have already had the honour of informing his Majesty of the existence at Vizeu of a republican Club, composed of rich and respectable men; and that one of its members had assured me, that they not only reckoned upon that district, but had ramifications in other provinces. We have, in Portugal, nine republican Papers, headed by the *Jornal do Commercio*. The consequences of the proclamation of a Republic in Spain will be terribly felt in France, Italy, and Portugal.

"The result of all that I have now had the honour of laying before your Majesty is, that, whether the Prince of Hohenzollern ascends the Spanish Throne, or whether the Republic is proclaimed, rivers of blood must inundate Europe; and hundreds of thousands—perhaps millions—of victims must be sacrificed in the struggles which, in a very short time, may arise. To

these hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of victims who will fall upon the battle-field, must be added the far greater number of unfortunate widows and poor orphans who will be left unprovided for by the death of their husbands or fathers.

"But a Divine Providence watches over humanity! How great, how majestic, how sublime is the situation of the individual whom GOD has placed in a position to be able to avert, by a single word, the dreadful evils which are threatening Europe. This individual is your Majesty, Sr. D. Fernando, who, by accepting the Crown of Spain, will occupy one of the most glorious stations in the history of the World.

"If the Almighty should touch your Majesty's heart, it would be necessary, for the present, that I alone should be informed of your resolution, so as to enable me to arrange the affair in a satisfactory manner; and I feel certain that we should obtain every guarantee to secure to your Majesty all that your heart can desire—all that could be deemed necessary under whatever circumstances might arise—all that could be required to quiet the apprehensions of the most jealous defenders of our *autonomia* and independence.

"Sire! It is not the Premier (for the Cabinet knows nothing of what I have written)—it is not the Premier who addresses you. It is the true friend, the faithful subject, and the obedient servant who

"Respectfully kisses your Majesty's hand, etc.,

"DUQUE DE SALDANHA."

After the preceding letter was written, the Spanish Minister at Lisbon received a communication from Señor Olozaga, dated Paris, July 8th, to the following effect:

"If, to avoid the war that is imminent, the Prussian candidate retires, the Powers which act with this object will favour the Portuguese candidateship. Saldanha will render a great service to Europe if he can get over any difficulties attending this. The Emperor has spoken of him to me with great interest and affection."

Information shortly afterwards reached Lisbon, that Prince Leopold had refused to become a candidate for the Crown of

Spain; and that the Republic would, probably, be immediately proclaimed. At the same time, it was made known that England strongly urged Sr. D. Fernando to accept the proffered Crown.

On the 26th of July, after mature deliberation, that Prince, in a letter to the Spanish Minister at Lisbon, Don F. de los Rios, consented to allow himself to be put forward as a candidate; but subject to six conditions, which it is unnecessary to place in detail before the reader.

On the 28th, Sr. D. Fernando, in a second letter to Rios, declared that, under any circumstances, he desired that the Duke de Saldanha, as Prime Minister, should sanction the political conditions which were insisted upon. For that his own position in the country would not allow him to dispose of himself without it.

On the 31st, he, furthermore, very explicitly made known to Señor de los Rios, that he would never accept the Crown of Spain until the Spanish Cortes passed a law, that the two Crowns were never to be united on one head.

This was, doubtless, a very ineffectual clause, however it might satisfy the scruples of Sr. D. Fernando; who felt, that, although he was not responsible for what the future might bring forth, yet it was his duty to take all possible precautions. But it will be readily perceived, that no law could be binding on a future Cortes.

The Spanish Cabinet, for this or other reasons, consented to the clause insisted upon; but in the modified form: "that the two Crowns should never be united on one head; *if either of the two countries opposed it.*"

This proviso, Sr. D. Fernando would not admit; nor would the Spaniards consent to its rejection. If his acceptance of the Crown of Spain was of so great importance to the peace and welfare of Europe, the point in question was hardly worth disputing. The Prince had already waived one condition—that of being elected by three-fourths of the members of the Spanish Cortes—"because," as he wrote to Señor de los Rios, "I could cease to insist upon this condition, it being one personal to myself; but, with respect to a guarantee for the inde-

pendence of Portugal, I am more exigent; for the nature of the subject compels me to be so: and in this I do no more than my duty."

Supported, as he was, in his views by the Governments of both France and England, Saldanha thought it his duty to combat the scruples of Sr. D. Fernando, after the Spanish Government had accepted the clause, which, notwithstanding the proposed addition, guaranteed Portugal, at least for the present, against any compulsory union with the sister kingdom. But finding his efforts ineffectual to induce the Prince to accept the added stipulation, he, with regret, saw himself compelled, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, to write the following note to Señor de los Rios:—

"CINTRA, *August* 14, 1870.

"ILL^MO E EX^MO S^R E MEU AMIGO,

"I have just seen the Srs. D. Luiz and D. Fernando; and I am sorry to say that I could obtain nothing. They read the letter which D. Pedro wrote to me; and it appears that they expect that the Great Powers will re-establish peace in Europe. I devoutly hope that it may be so.

"Grieved, but with a quiet conscience, I await the course of events.

"I am, your faithful friend,

"SALDANHA."

When this letter was afterwards published, certain political opponents pretended to see in it a desire for placing the two Crowns on one head.*

We need add but little on this subject. All Europe knows that Sr. D. Fernando did *not* accept the Crown of Spain; that his refusal was followed by the disastrous war between France

* We have a letter before us written to Saldanha at Paris by the Marquis de Sá, when Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is dated April 9th, 1869, after Sr. D. Fernando, for the first time, had refused to become a candidate for the Crown of Spain. That Minister wrote: "The Government had no voice in the determination of his Majesty. My advice was neither asked for nor given. But my opinion was, and is, that his ascent to the throne of Spain would be greatly to the advantage of the two peninsular countries, and of Europe."

and Prussia; the civil strife in Spain; and, eventually, the occupation of the throne of the latter country by its present Sovereign.

We now return to the events which followed the formation of the new Ministry in May.

The Chambers, which usually separate soon after that time, were successively prorogued until November, and, finally, dissolved. In the meantime, the Government decreed such measures as the immediate exigencies of the country required; subject, as they necessarily were, to the approval of the Cortes at their next meeting, which is usually deferred until the following January. It will be remembered, that, when the so-called Coup d'Etat of the 19th of May was censured by the Press, in countries ignorant of the condition of Portugal, one paper, the *Times*, notwithstanding its violent condemnation of Saldanha's act, was candid enough to add: "It may be, if leisure is allowed to him at the close of his protracted career, that the power thus violently obtained will be beneficially employed." This supposition was soon verified; and his country was not long in rendering justice to the aged Marshal.

Among the more important laws of his Administration we may mention that:

The Government decreed the abolition of the salaries granted to members of the Lower House.*

It reformed the "Council of State."

It abolished an unnecessary tribunal of commercial appeal.

It ordered the suppression of many unnecessary offices as vacancies occurred.

It effected reforms in the Custom House, and in the War Office, which greatly increased the revenue, and reduced the expenditure.

It granted the free right to petition, as well as of holding meetings and forming associations. These rights existed by the Constitutional Charter; but they had become so restricted by clauses and conditions that the Article was a dead letter.

* One of the acts of the first Parliament which followed the resignation of this Ministry was to vote the restoration of their own salaries. The remaining Decrees of the Dictatorship were generally confirmed.

A decree did away with the whole of these hindrances to a free expression of opinion.

It commenced the reform of public education, and appointed a special Minister for that Department, without adding to the expenses of Government.

It provided with medical assistance those outlying villages which were unable to support the expense of a regular practitioner.

It decreed measures in favour of the parochial clergy who suffered by Art. 2618 of the Civil Code.

These were a few of the judicious reforms undertaken by the men who were called to assume office under Saldanha.

The reader may be not a little surprised to learn that the Ministry which was inaugurated on the 19th of May with such general satisfaction, and which, during its tenure of office, had no hostile Chambers to oppose it, terminated its existence on the 29th of August following. During this period of 100 days, it issued no less than 74 decrees; all of which were, more or less, beneficial to the country; and were submitted to the Cortes for their confirmation in the following December. The suddenness of the change became the subject of much discussion; and there was no less mystery attached to the motives of the Marshal's dismissal, than there had been to the mode by which he entered office.

"The reasons of it," said the Count de Cavalleiros, in his place in Parliament, when discussing the rise and fall of this Cabinet, "the reasons of it I neither know; nor do I care to know."

The Marshal, himself, in the following letter, which he addressed to the Marquis de Vallada, explained, so far as he considered it necessary, the reasons which had led to his sudden assumption of power in May, as well as the causes which compelled him to quit office in August.

"CINTRA, *August 30th*, 1870.

"MY DEAR MARQUIS,

"I have received your letter and hasten to reply to it. "The firm conviction I had—the certainty—that the con-

tinuance of the Loulé—Lobo de Avila—Mendes Leal—Ministry in office would, in a few days, bring about a revolution, of which the consequences would be disastrous;—a revolution respecting which I had on various occasions spoken to the King: and again on the 18th of May, when, in vain, I assured his Majesty that any change of Ministry would ensure our safety—determined me to take those steps, on the morning of the 19th of May, when you were one of my courageous companions.

"The change of Ministry having been effected; I had the honour, on the night of that same day, to say to the King: That, having eleven times refused the premiership—and already once during his reign—I had no desire to hold office; and that I placed in his hands the authority which he had given me in the morning. The King refused to accede to my request; and I continued President of the Council.

"Yesterday—five days before the elections—the King called me, by telegram, to the Palace.

"On my arrival there, I met the Marquises of Sá and Avila; Carlos Bento; and Dias Ferreira. Sr. D. Luiz informed me of his immediate intention to change the Ministry.*

"I replied with such observations as my duty as Councillor of State; as his Mordomo-mór; and as his sincere friend, imposed upon me. I said:

"That in five days, the country would pass sentence upon the Ministry, or upon its opponents; that the latter, conscious how unfavourable to them would be that sentence (which was proved by the ex-Ministers Braamcamp, Lobo de Avila, and João Chrysostomo having withdrawn themselves as candidates) had sought, by every means in their power, to postpone the elections.

"That throughout the whole country, as well as in the Capital, there reigned the most complete tranquillity, which I assured his Majesty would not be disturbed. I begged, by all that was dear to him, that he would not, by an act of the Executive, seek to stifle the voice of the Nation five days before the day appointed for its sentence; and that, if his Majesty's determination was final, he would, at least, delay it

* The secret of the reason for this sudden resolution is still unknown to the *public*.

until the 5th of the month, as the elections were to take place upon the 4th.

"My endeavours were in vain. The King, with his usual kindness, assured me that he was fully convinced of my constant fidelity to his person and Dynasty; and that I might feel assured of his friendship.

"His Majesty then enquired if I would accept a diplomatic appointment. I replied that this would depend upon two things: One, that his Majesty and the new Ministers should assure me, that no political reaction was intended; and that they would afford protection to my friends; especially to those who accompanied me to the Ajuda on the 19th of May: the other, that my acceptance should be considered subject to my approval of the person who should be called to preside over the Foreign Office.

"The King replied; 'the Minister for Foreign Affairs will be the Marquis d'Avila, who has always voted with you in Council; and the President will be your real friend the Marquis de Sá.' The King, as well as the Marquises de Sá and Avila, assured me that no political reaction was intended; and that my friends would find in them all necessary protection.

"I requested that care should be taken in the wording of my dismissal: because I protested against the expression usually employed; 'in consideration of the request' etc.; for I not only had not requested my dismissal; but I had said all I could to avoid its taking place before the elections, and before the meeting of the Cortes.

"Thus you have, for your own information and for that of our friends, an account of what took place on the memorable day of yesterday the 29th of August 1870—five days before the elections!

"Believe me etc.

"SALDANHA."

We may here add, that the royal Decree which exonerated the Marshal from office, after declaring that he had served greatly to his Sovereign's satisfaction, stated; that it was motived by the desire of employing him in "a high diplomatic

mission which, under present circumstances, the public service requires."

It is unnecessary to comment upon this letter; nor, indeed, could the author do so without revealing circumstances which are known but to *very few*, and which are too recent to be divulged. We simply say that Saldanha received his dismissal, and that he accepted it.

In truth, he now wanted but three months of attaining his 80th year: and although his energy and intellectual powers were such as to lead his opponent in politics, Count de Cavalleiros, to declare, shortly afterwards, that the country might still require his *sword* and his *experience;* yet the Marshal had no regret to resign power, satisfied with what he had done for his country.

The Marquis de Sá succeeded to the vacant premiership, and, in his turn, gave place, on the 29th of October, to the Marquis d'Avila e de Bolama. The Marshal had no political differences with either of these statesmen; and, consequently, had no reluctance to accept a diplomatic employment at their hands.

In the following December, a Bill was introduced into the Cortes to legalize the acts of the 100 days. It was much discussed in both Houses. The majority of the acts were confirmed; but, strange to say, those to which this formality was refused, were exactly the Decrees which were of the greatest benefit to the country—such as that which instituted the special department for Public Instruction; the decree allowing the free right of petition, association, and meeting; one for the reorganisation of the Military College; that by which tardy justice was granted to the Miguelite officers who had laid down their arms at Evora Monte in accordance with a convention which stipulated that the Government would provide for their subsistence; the Decrees for founding training schools, and an Institute for the special education of females; and the reform of public instruction. These judicious measures were repealed—as we have already stated—by the Deputies who voted the restoration of their own salaries.

Some of these Deputies, with very plausible theories, but

seeming totally to ignore the state of the country at that time, condemned the act of the 19th of May as unconstitutional. Very true. But which of them would have refused such a state of dictatorship to serve the purposes of his own party? Have we not seen the most exalted Liberals; Rodrigo Pinto Pizarro; Manoel Passos, and others, advocating a dictatorship, when they pretended—and, probably with reason—that the condition of the country required one? And are we sure that such an assumption of power may not again be deemed advisable?

We will not enter on the lengthy debates which took place when the Chambers assembled. The Marshal's political opponents spoke of him with respect; his followers with veneration. We will conclude this Chapter with an anecdote, honourable to him, which was related by the Count de Cavalleiros during these discussions.

The Count, now a constitutionalist, had sided with the opposite party during the Miguelite struggle. He voted against the Bill of Indemnity, as proposed to the House, and declared himself in strong opposition to the Marshal's political acts; but, he said:

"I am a friend of the noble Duke de Saldanha; my friendship for him dates from many years back; from the time in which I was in one camp and he was in another. During that period my life was despaired of more than once. In addition to a gunshot wound, I was attacked with typhus fever. The Marshal Saldanha, with his usual kindness of heart, and knowing that I had a mother, sent to the enemy's camp to enquire how I was. I had received the last Sacraments of the Church: and the noble Duke de Saldanha kindly took upon himself, in the midst of so many anxious cares, to go and console my mother and sisters, who supposed that I was dead."

To this he added: that, although politically opposed to him, he must confess that the position of the Marshal Duke de Saldanha was greatly elevated and powerful; and that the whole country—from the King down to the humblest citizen—all appreciated and esteemed him.

CHAPTER XVI.

1870—1876.

Erroneous statements—Saldanha leaves Lisbon—At Madrid—Arrives in London—Audience at Windsor—Diplomatic rank—Anecdotes—Lord Derby—Saldanha desires repose—His catholic pamphlet—Congratulations from the bishops—Other literary productions—The Archbishop of York—Anecdote at Dover—Illness—Enters his 85th year—Longing for Cintra—Lisbon Steam Tramway—Its previous history—Formation of the Company—Baron Grant—Failure of the undertaking—Legal proceedings—Erroneous statements in Court—Saldanha's vexation—Severe illness—His resignation—Misplaced confidence—Resolves to pass the winter in London—Letter on the Eastern question—M. Louis Blanc—Notes for a biography—Anecdote—Cardinal Manning.

THE political life of the Marshal Saldanha may be said to have closed at this period. A recent writer—running hastily through Portugal and Spain—after referring to that period, in 1832—33, when, as he states, D. Miguel was besieged by D. Pedro in the city of Oporto,* added, that up to the year 1870, Portugal had enjoyed peace and freedom from revolutions, until the Marshal Saldanha, *in his dotage*, came forward, on the 19th of May, to disturb the country. The reader of this narrative will be astonished at such an assertion: for the whole period which we have described must have seemed to him to have abounded in revolutions and attempts at revolution. Long previous to 1870, and subsequent to the war with D. Miguel, fourteen such risings could be counted during fifteen years. And yet this flippant writer, to complete his sentence, must need add insult to falsehood by describing the gallant Marshal as "in his dotage"!! The King—indeed the whole country,—

* We will suppose that this was but a *slip of the pen*; by which the besieged became the besiegers.

must, in that case, have been *in dotage* to have submitted to such an act as that of the 19th of May, if it had not been urgently required. And what should we think of the Sovereign, and of his Ministers, who appointed the Marshal to the most important diplomatic mission which Portugal sends forth —that to the Court of St. James!

Saldanha left Lisbon on the 10th of September, and arrived, on the morning of the 12th, at Madrid, where an Aide-de-Camp of Marshal Prim, with that General's carriage, was in waiting at the railway station. Prim himself, together with the Regent Serrano, Olozaga, Concha, and many others immediately visited him. He, however, declined every invitation to make any stay at Madrid, and left the Spanish Capital on the following afternoon. At St. Sebastian he felt unwell, and was unable, until the 21st, to leave that scene of his former glories. From a similar cause, he was detained at Bordeaux. At this city, he was strongly urged to embark for Southampton; but the Marshal had no fear of encountering the Prussian troops, and determined to proceed across the country to Boulogne. He did so; and reached London on the 29th.

Shortly after his arrival, he received an unofficial Note from Lord Granville, dated October 22d, informing him that the British Government had "urged France and Prussia to agree to an armistice, with a view to the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, and an eventual peace."

It was not until the 29th of the following month, that her Majesty, Queen Victoria, was able to give him audience at Windsor, where he went to present his credentials.

This descent from an Embassy to a Legation was a remarkable change of diplomatic position for the Marshal to submit to. He had held the highest rank at Rome—being the *doyen* of the Ambassadors there: whilst now, in London, he had to descend to a level with, and even to give precedence to, the unimportant Envoy of each petty South American State, which could afford to send one. It is not, perhaps, generally understood, that amongst Diplomatic Agents, only Ambassadors, Legates and Nuncios have the representative character. They represent their Sovereigns; and, as such, have precedence over

all ranks in the country to which they are accredited. Ministers Plenipotentiary are Agents of their Government; and, except amongst themselves, are entitled to no precedence except that which is granted them by the courtesy of the Court, and of the society where they reside. But it was by the Marshal's own desire, that he went to England in this subordinate position. For Ambassadors have so many social duties to perform, from which Ministers are exempt; and his desire was to enjoy a quiet life, in a country whose people he so much esteemed, and where he himself was so generally appreciated. His modest residence in Gloucester Place was unfitted for the splendour of fêtes, such as thousands had witnessed at the Palazzo Giraud at Rome. His high position in that city had obliged him to exercise a generous hospitality: but, as a rule, the Marshal was greatly averse to that display of luxury so characteristic of modern society. In Lisbon, his table was open to all his friends; but rarely was anyone there present by a formal invitation. He held it as a maxim, that, "Hospitality, which is esteemed a virtue amongst barbarous people, has become a speculation in civilized societies."

Whilst recording this maxim of Saldanha, other sayings recur to our memory; which, although they belong, more properly, to another period, we venture to insert here.

Returning from a *reconnaissance* which he had made outside the defences of Oporto, the Marshal walked his horse, regardless of danger from the fire of the enemy. His favourite Aide-de-Camp could not avoid remarking, that he not only placed his own life in danger, but also the Cause of the Queen. Saldanha replied: "In the presence of the enemy, advance at a gallop; but retire at a footpace." It was with this knowledge of his, seeming, unconsciousness of danger, that D. Pedro, when he left Saldanha at Oporto, desired the officers of his Staff to hold him by the coat-tail when the enemy was in view.

Whilst at Vienna, the author recollects hearing the Marshal asked to what cause he imputed Napoleon's constant success until Waterloo? The enquirer probably expected a dissertation on military tactics. But the sole reply was: "Because until then he had never encountered an English army."

During the Franco-Prussian War, the Marshal had followed, with great interest, on the map, the various movements of the adverse armies. He was a practical soldier; and we do not recollect hearing from him one single observation calculated to criticise the plans or movements of the Commanders. He always showed a modest reserve in speaking of his own services and achievements, and a forbearance in commenting upon those of others. Once only, at the breakfast table, when those present were discussing the fall of Sedan, of which a telegram had that morning announced the surrender, the Marshal, who had remained silent until the Duchess adverted to the report that the French had exhausted their powder, calmly observed: "They had their bayonets." Perhaps, at this moment, memory carried him back to that day, in 1833, when, in answer to his proposal to attack the besieging army outside of Lisbon with a force of little more than a third of the enemy's number, D. Pedro, yielding the point, exclaimed: "I will not oppose you. I have seen you perform such miracles! Do whatever you like." The "miracle," as we have already seen, was performed: and the thrice outnumbering foe fled to the stronghold of Santarem.

It was in reference to this glorious feat of arms, that towards the close of the year 1870, a Member of the Chamber of Deputies—in answer to one who endeavoured to depreciate the services of Saldanha by declaring that Portugal owed her liberty to so many others,—exclaimed with honest indignation: "True: but *without* the Marshal Saldanha, the Cause of Liberty was lost. He is our only General; and base it is to deny his worth. If France, instead of Bazaines and Lebœufs, had had Marshal Saldanha, she would not, at this moment, be trampled upon by Prussia."

The Deputy added, that, if any one wished to enquire where were the laurels which Marshal Saldanha had gathered, he would, in reply, tell him, that they adorned the brow of the statue of Liberty, which that Marshal had erected in Portugal.

That his duties as a Diplomatist, in London, were not very arduous at this period, we may gather from the polite and amiable observation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Duchess, as he, one day, sat by her at dinner.

"I am going to try and pick a quarrel with your country," said Lord Derby. "Indeed," was the reply, "why so?" "Oh!" rejoined his lordship, "only that I may have the pleasure of seeing the Marshal oftener at the Foreign Office."

Attempts were still continually made to induce Saldanha to return to Portugal, and to lend the weight of his name and influence to second the ambitious projects of those who desired office. But he declared, in a letter to the Count de Magalhães, that he would never relinquish his present post, unless with the object of returning to his beloved Cintra, where he wished and hoped to end his days. There were strong reasons to lead him to this firm resolve; reasons which we have no intention of making public: suffice it to say, that they were communicated in letters to the Marquis de Avila, and to one well known about the person of the King.

He had done with Ministries; and the following extract from a letter written to him by his old correspondent, Sr. Reis e Vasconcellos, confirmed him in his intention of never again attempting to bring chaos into order.

"I abstain from speaking of our political state, because I do not wish to disturb the quiet of your mind, which would, probably, be overwhelmed with sadness were I to convey to you my sincere apprehension." *

* Ten years have passed away, since the Marshal, in 1870, by a bold *Coup d'État*, saved Portugal from a revolution which might have proved fatal to the dynasty. His apology (if one is needed) is to be found in the state of misgovernment which then existed, and which has continued from that time to this, as confessed by the Portuguese themselves during the present Session of the Cortes. The statements there made, respecting the shameful inequality of taxation in different parts of the country, would be incredible, were they not uncontradicted. The attainment of a moderately fair assessment of property has been confessed an impossibility. One of the most distinguished of recent Portuguese legislators, Sr. Fontes, after a ministerial experience of many years, frankly asserted in Parliament, on the 26th of April, that reform on this head (*reformação dos matrizes*) is a project that no Minister would ever have the power to execute. Sr. Vaz Preto made known that above a million sterling is owing for uncollected taxes! Taxes:—not the arrears which poverty is unable to pay;—but those owing by the wealthy, whose electoral influence is purchased by the forbearance of the fiscal authorities of their locality. "The Government," he observed, "is fearful of offending many individuals, their partisans, who owe enormous sums:" and,

The Marshal did, indeed, now wish to know as little of Portuguese politics as possible. His real friends were as careful, as was Sr. Reis, of not disturbing his peace of mind. He scarcely ever desired to take up a home newspaper; and the contents of the *Times* were either read, or communicated to him, by his wife or Mrs. Walpole. He was bent upon the completion of various literary works, which, he hoped, might be useful to his fellow-countrymen, at a time when popular French literature is almost the only one to be found in Portugal—a literature which he considered led, for the most part, to a contempt for every thing sacred; whether as regards morality, or our most holy Religion. With this view, he wrote, and published in 1871, a pamphlet entitled: "Necessidade da Associação Catholica." We make the following extract from a letter addressed to him by the Bishop of Bragança, on returning thanks for this little work:

"As a Bishop and a Portuguese citizen, I pray you to con-

"there are large landowners who speculate with their political influence; and who, to obtain the appointment of those (*Escrivães da Fazenda*) who will assess their properties at their own valuation, are at the orders of every Government."

The present Ministry has brought forward financial plans, which, instead of alleviating or equalizing the already heavy and unjust burdens which oppress the greater number, will form a network of taxes, involving in its meshes the poor and the honest. One of these measures is an Income Tax; from which not even the joint earnings of a labouring family; (when amounting to £33); nor the income of the foreigner who resides above twelve months in the country will escape. The Corps Diplomatique and Consuls are alone exempted. Such is to be the inquisitorial nature of the proposed law, that, lest the foreigner and others (whose incomes are derived from sources out of the country) should not give a true account of their expenditure, a committee of five members is to be appointed in each parish to ascertain its *probable* amount, calculated on the style in which the taxpayers live. Should that estimate be considered exaggerated, they themselves will be called upon to contest it by documentary proof!

This, or any law, will be passed without difficulty under a Constitution (?) by which the Ministers are allowed to leave Constituencies unrepresented; and to create an unlimited number of Peers to carry their measures in the Upper House. At this moment, (May 1880), no less than 12 seats in the Chamber of Deputies are vacant, and have been so for various periods since the commencement of the Session; and the Government, after making one batch of 26 Peers to procure a majority, are, it is said, about to increase the number by 15 for the same purpose!

tinue your advocacy of Catholic interests. Your pen, my good lord Duke, has the weight of authority. To it we owe, besides other services, the absence from Portugal of that monstrous law of Civil Marriage, a fact of such importance to Catholic morality, that, at a meeting of Bishops in the Eternal City, the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville expressed his conviction, that to the pen, and to the efforts of the Marshal Duke de Saldanha, was owing the triumph of Catholic marriage over the occult concubinage disguised under the specious name of Civil Marriage.

"The Portuguese Bishops present were transported with delight at hearing our illustrious countryman declared to be one of the most determined and intrepid defenders of Catholic principles."

Another work, in two parts, was published during the Marshal's residence in England: the first part in 1874; the other in 1876. It had for its title:

"*The Voice of Nature; or the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of GOD shown in Creation; in the connection between the Inorganic and the Organic World; and in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Structure of Plants, and to the Moral and Physical Constitution of Man.*"

This attempt to combat Atheism obtained the applauses of the Press in several languages; and the Marshal received many congratulatory letters, as each part made its appearance. When his work, "The Truth," was translated into English, the Archbishop of York acknowledged the reception of a copy in the following complimentary terms:

"I have read with great interest your important work. Whilst there are, of course, some things in it which are written from the stand-point of another Church, it is impossible not to admire, and appreciate highly, such an earnest attempt to defend the truth against disbelief. I doubt not that it will do much good.

"It must be a source of satisfaction to you, in the evening of a life of great activity, to have been able to do something in the cause of Religion. It is a new service to your country, and it will be useful even beyond it."

A pleasing instance of the Marshal's piety occurred at Dover. He had gone down, on the evening of the 28th of June 1873, to meet the Emperor and Empress of Brazil, who were expected to arrive there on the following morning. That day being the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Marshal was at St. Paul's Church by eight o'clock for early Mass. The congregation was assembled, and the Priest appeared to be waiting expectant near the Altar: but no sign was given of commencing the Service. The usual assistant had not made his appearance. The Marshal, suspecting the cause of the delay, advanced towards the Altar, and, addressing himself to the Priest, offered to act in the place of the Acolyte. His unexpected offer was gladly accepted. After Mass, enquiries were made as to the name of this venerable gentleman: and the little incident found its way into the London Catholic papers.

In the following year, 1874, the aged Marshal was attacked with a giddiness which led him to consider whether his lengthened days might not, suddenly, be cut short. He reflected, with regret, that he had been unable to make any provision for his wife, should she survive him. He, however, felt assured that his country would not fail to reward his services with a pension to his widow, as it had done in the case of the Duchess da Terceira.

When shortly about to enter his 85th year, the Marshal, who yearned to pass the remainder of his days at his favourite Cintra, wrote, on the 10th of October, to the Prime Minister, saying: that, although he had not purposed returning to Portugal until the following year, his late attack had determined him to give up his diplomatic employment, if the Government would grant him a pension of 12 contos a year, with a continuance of half of that sum to his wife, should she survive him: and he added, that the charge was not likely to be of long duration, since he would then be in his 85th year, and his wife in her 67th. "If," said he, "the Government of his Majesty should grant my request, I shall enjoy, peaceably, my few remaining days; with the certainty, that the widow of the Duke de Saldanha will not have to solicit the charity of his ever-loved countrymen."

Compliance with this moderate wish was deferred. His friends and old companions, who would have seconded it, were departed. The aged Marquis de Sá almost alone remained; and in the last letter which he ever addressed to the Marshal, on the 20th of June 1875, he reminded him that they two were now the sole survivors of those who fought for the independence of their country under the Duke of Wellington. He added, that time was also rapidly diminishing the number of those who had established liberal institutions in Portugal; amongst whom, he declared, "the Marshal will always hold the foremost place."

We have now to refer to an occurrence which, about this time, gave the Marshal no little uneasiness; and which led to considerable misapprehension in the mind of the English public, as to the manner in which he was concerned in it. It is necessary to state the circumstances which connected the name of Marshal Saldanha with the once much discussed "Lisbon Steam Tramway Company."

So far back as the 6th of March, 1869, the Marquis de Sá, at that time Prime Minister at Lisbon, wrote the following letter to Saldanha, then Portuguese Envoy at Paris.

"LISBON, *March 6th*, 1869.

"MY DEAR MARSHAL,

"I am going to ask you to do me the favour to examine, personally, the small line of railway which has been constructed, as an experiment, between the Raincy Station of the *Chemin de Fer de l'Est* and the *Commune* of Montfermeil, near Paris.

"This is a new system of railway, and is laid down upon the high roads with a single rail, upon which revolve the guiding wheel of the locomotive and the foremost wheel of the waggons, each of which has three wheels. A train, as I am informed, consists of three carriages, each conveying sixteen passengers; and travels five kilometres in 20 minutes on the journey from Raincy; and in 15 minutes upon the return; the difference being due to a gradient of 7 per cent., which it has to ascend.

"If this be true, it appears to me that the system might be

adopted, with advantage, in Portugal, to connect the various railway stations with the adjacent towns or villages; and for this reason I ask you to examine it.

"I should also be glad to receive information as to the latest improvements in road engines for common roads; and their practical results. . . . . .

"Your sincere friend,

"SÁ DA BANDEIRA."

In compliance with the Minister's request, the Marshal inspected the line of tramway which was already laid down near Paris, and reported very favourably of its construction. But other more important affairs, probably, at that time occupied the attention of the Minister; for he ceased to make enquiries on the subject. The Marshal himself, was so satisfied of the value of the new system for the purposes mentioned in the Marquis's letter; and of the advantages which his country might derive from its introduction; that, after many interviews with the inventor, he applied to Government for a concession to enable him to introduce the Larmanjat tramway into Portugal. He saw, in this economical and novel system of running steam carriages on public roads, an easy means of improving the internal communications of the country. For indeed, even in the immediate neighbourhood of Lisbon, the expence of bringing corn, wine, fruits, fuel, etc., either for exportation, or for the consumption of the Capital, by the slow conveyance of a cart drawn by bullocks, is enormous. The Marshal, with his usual enthusiasm, already pictured to himself the tramway being spread over the length and breadth of Portugal. At one time, nevertheless, he wrote to the Minister, to say how fearful he had been that the promised advantages would have slipped from his hands: for he had been informed, that the Prussian Government had been striving hard for the possession of M. Larmanjat and his system; but that, after a hard battle, he had prevailed upon M. Larmanjat to devote his energies exclusively to Portugal!

The author, during this period, had passed through Paris on his way to England, and had persistently declined to visit the

sample of tramway, which was to be seen at work in the neighbourhood. He endeavoured to persuade the Marshal from this hazardous undertaking; but, when he was told that the first experiment of the system was to be from the railway station at Carregado to the neighbouring post town of Alemquer, and in the direction of his own country residence, he stood aghast! He combated the idea with vehemence; representing that, at places, the road was too narrow to allow a bullock cart to pass the engine with safety; and, at others, it was too steep for the engine to ascend. Moreover, it was the road he took when he went from home; and that, as his mode of locomotion in that neighbourhood was on a jackass, he should never, on that stubborn animal, venture upon the danger of facing a passing train.

The Marquis de Sá, after a while, returned to the subject, and was no less sanguine than was Saldanha, as to the benefits the country would derive from raising Companies to carry out this system of tramway. Not only did he advocate the line from Lisbon to Cintra, which would enable so many families to establish themselves in that cool and charming village; but he pointed out the advantage of other lines from Mealhada to Vizeu; from Oporto to Braga; from Oporto to Amarante; from Beja to the Guadiana, and to Casevel; etc., etc.

That no time should be lost, M. Larmanjat was dispatched to Lisbon, at the Marshal's sole expense, to survey the ground and report progress. It was, doubtless, desirable to get him far away from the clutches of those greedy Prussians, who, perhaps, were already planning the future transport of their troops into France on the Larmanjat tramways!

Capital and a Company were alone wanting to carry out, in Portugal, the views of the Government. An experiment on a small scale was resolved upon; the more distant line from Carregado to Alemquer was relinquished; and the Marshal was persuaded to lay down, at his own expense, a short one, of three miles, leading from Lisbon to Lumiar. The cost was calculated at about £22,000, of which £8,000 were to be given to M. Larmanjat, and the too credulous Marshal undertook to be the sole proprietor of this first experiment. Money was

raised; contracts entered into; *employés* nominated; and the work progressed.

The Marshal arrived in Lisbon on the 30th of October 1869. On the 31st of January following, was the grand opening of the Line; at which many thousands of people from Lisbon and the surrounding villages were present. The streets and roads which the new line traversed were adorned with flags and triumphal arches. Bands of music played at different points of the route.

Prayers having been read at the city terminus by D. José de Lacerda, the celebrated lexicographer and Dean of Lisbon Cathedral, several trial trips took place. At their termination, the ceremonies of the day concluded with a dinner of 82 covers, at which the Municipal Chamber of Lisbon; the Council of Public Works; the Press; etc., etc., were represented. Among the guests were the Marquises de Sá and Pombal; Counts de Rio Maior and Azinhaga; Viscounts de Villa Nova, Pinheiro, and Abrigada; Baron do Rio Zezere; M. Goudchaux; Sr. Sebastião Calheiros, and the late talented and unfortunate writer and orator, Vieira de Castro. The Marshal was able to be present, although suffering from the effects of a bruise on the leg, owing to a fall on the stairs of the Necessidades Palace some days previously. His health, and success to the enterprise, were proposed in an eloquent speech by Sr. de Castro; and, at the conclusion of the entertainment, as the Marshal was himself unable to leave his chair, he requested the Duchess to seek out the orator, and shake him by the hand, as an expression of his heartfelt thanks and approbation of the speech.

His Majesty Sr. D. Luiz was not present on this occasion; but, a few days later, he rode over the Line, accompanied by the Marshal, and warmly expressed his approval of it.

The author did not attend the entertainment; and he observes, that although residing in the country, he never once approached within view of the Larmanjat tramway: neither the one constructed at the expense of the Marshal; nor that more considerable line afterwards brought out by a Company; that he never held a share in the undertaking; nor, to his knowledge, ever spoke to any one of the Directors, with the exception

of the Marshal, and Lord Henry Lennox with whom he was slightly acquainted long before the Company was ever contemplated. That this declaration may not be misunderstood, he begs to express his belief in the advantage Portugal would derive from tramways, if they were laid down with judgment and economy; but that he strongly opposed, and had always done so, the Marshal Duke de Saldanha being, in any way connected with commercial Companies. Those in which he had invested large sums had been failures; and, generally, owing to causes which it would be imprudent to discuss.

The tramway was popular. A set of quadrilles appeared under the title of the "Larmanjat." The witty dramatist, Sr. Luiz d'Araujo, produced a farce, which he named the "Inauguration of the Larmanjat Railway." He begged the Marshal, in the name of the Managers of the Theatre where it was to be acted, to honour the first representation with his presence; and declared that he had written the farce with two objects: one, the hope of affording some amusement to playgoers; the other, to place before the public the "Larmanjat Railway," as another lively proof of the Marshal's desire to introduce into his country every improvement which could benefit it. Thus much of the Larmanjat undertaking, the author, in company with the worthy Marshal, was a spectator of; and they both enjoyed the merriment which the dramatist excited.

From documents before us, we find that the receipts on this short line, which, as we may say, led to no-where, amounted, nevertheless, on some days to sums exceeding £10; although, on one occasion, probably from interrupted transit, they were only 3*s.* 6*d.** After a while, whether from the expense attending too large a number of employés; frauds practised; badly constructed lines; or other cause; the undertaking came to a stand-still, and the trains ceased to run. This event cooled the enthusiasm which had, at first, been felt throughout Portugal for a system of highway communication to be established by

* Since writing this statement, it has been explained to the author, that the receipts were small, on certain days, owing to the gratuitous conveyance of the families and friends of the *employés.*

Companies without the aid of Government subventions. How well that system was thought of, is proved by a letter from a distinguished Deputy and lawyer who, as Mayor of Lisbon, attended the memorable banquet offered by the Lord Mayor of London to his European colleagues. He wrote to the Marshal, that he had spoken to certain capitalists at Oporto; and that, he believed, he should be able to place at the Marshal's disposal, no less a sum than £20,000, for permission to work the lines in the north of Portugal.

These promises were never realized. Soon came the Coup d'État of the 19th of May: then the 100 days: and, finally, the Marshal's departure for London. When he left Lisbon the Government held forth the prospect of taking the Larmanjat tramway off his hands, as he was greatly embarrassed by the amount of debt which he had rendered himself liable for; but which, however, he knew that he would, by economy, and the sale of part of his property in Portugal, be able, in course of time, to satisfy.

At the commencement of 1871, a French gentleman, highly connected in Portugal, and with a full knowledge of the requirements and condition of that country, waited upon the Marshal in London, and proposed the formation of a Company which should purchase his valuable concessions, as well as the property and stock, as it existed, on the line which had ceased to be worked. This interview was followed by an introduction to Baron Grant, who undertook to promote a Company for the above-mentioned purpose. The following was the opinion expressed of this undertaking in the Money Market Article of the *Times* of July 8th, 1871:—

"A prospectus has been issued of the Lisbon Steam Tramways Company (Limited), with a capital of £200,000, in shares of £10. The Duke of Saldanha, the Portuguese Minister at this Court, is president of the undertaking; and the object is to carry out an exclusive concession granted to his Excellency for 90 years, for the construction of steam tramways from Lisbon to Cintra, Torres Vedras, and elsewhere, comprising a total length of about 63 miles, through the most populous places of resort. A contract has been entered into with Messrs. Edwin

Clark, Punchard, and Co., for the sum of £304,810, of which £190,000 is to be in cash and the balance in debentures, and they are to complete the entire system by December 31, 1872, allowing meanwhile 7 per cent. on the paid up capital. The cost per mile will thus only slightly exceed £4,500, a rate, it is stated, far below that of any similar works in a large metropolis, while the prospects of traffic, according to existing *data*, appear to be good. The population of Lisbon is 300,000, and there are probably few cities upon which, as far as the inhabitants are concerned, a work of this kind could confer greater benefit."

If, to this encouraging prospectus, we add the names of the highly respectable gentlemen who, as directors, presented this undertaking to the public, the reader will not be surprised that all the shares were immediately subscribed for; and that, in the market, they rose to a premium. The Directors were:

His Excellency Field-Marshal THE DUKE OF SALDANHA (Envoy Extraordinary from the Government of Portugal), London, Chairman.

JOHN CHAPMAN, Esq., (Chairman of the Great Southern of India Railway Company), London, Deputy-Chairman.

LORD HENRY G. LENNOX, M.P., (Director of the National Bank), London.

CHARLES J. APPLEBY, Esq. (Deputy-Chairman of the Buenos Ayres National Tramways Company, Limited), London.

WILLIAM DENT, Esq. (Chairman of the Oude and Rohilkund Railway), London.

Captain C. E. MANGLES (Chairman of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company), London.

FRANCIS TOTHILL, Esq. (Director of the Monmouthshire Railway Company), London.

It will be remembered that, after the Line was completed, it was unable to pay its working expenses; the capital of the Company had disappeared; and the undertaking came to an unfortunate end. We presume that such is the case with many speculations of the kind—but very few are offered to the public under more favourable auspices, as regarded the respectability of the Directors, or with a better prospect of fair remuneration.* But, from causes with which we are unacquainted, and which only the contractors could, probably, explain, the Company

* A company has just been formed for a railway between Lisbon and Torres Vedras, a distance of 25 miles, forming a portion of the line on which the tramway ran.

failed. Baron Grant was attacked for the part he had acted in the undertaking; and a Mr. Twycross came forward, as a shareholder, to bring an action against him for some non-compliance, in the Company's prospectus, with the terms of a very recent Act of Parliament. At that period the author was in England, and he heard it asserted by a well-known Member of Parliament, that a certain individual of large fortune had avowed his intention of endeavouring to ruin Baron Grant; but he gave no reason for this intention. If any blame attached to the Directors, it could only be for some carelessness; and, with the exception of Lord Henry Lennox, they escaped attack. But the appearance of this gentleman's name on the list of Directors was so mis-represented by party spirit, that, while there was the most remote prospect of any attempt being made to censure the conduct of the Directors in a Court of Justice, he thought proper to withdraw from the honourable ministerial appointment he then held. No such attempt was made.

Although the Marshal was not charged with any part in the infringement of the Act of Parliament, yet his name was brought forward in Court, where many falsehoods were uttered respecting him, which have remained, until this day, uncontradicted.

It was there stated, that the Duke de Saldanha *had received a large sum of money* for the sale of his rights of concession, and for his interest in the line, between Lisbon and Lumiar, with the rolling stock upon it, in compensation for the outlay he had made on first introducing the Larmanjat system into Portugal. The large sum, we are enabled to state, was £1,500 in cash, and £8,000 in shares of the Company. In answer to an insinuation that, from his own failure in forming an experimental line, he must have been convinced how unsuccessful a second attempt would be; it is sufficient to reply, that, so great was his confidence in the Company's success, that, although he was pressed to satisfy a large claim for money borrowed at Paris to make the original line to Lumiar; and although the shares were then at a premium; he preferred borrowing money at the banking house of Messrs. Scott & Co., who advanced the sum of £5,000 on their security. To this we may add, that some

of his own servants having applied for shares and obtained them, the Marshal kindly made good their loss, when the shares became worthless.

Our account of this unfortunate transaction may have appeared long to the reader; but it was due to the memory of the Marshal to make known the very passive part he took in the formation of the Lisbon Steam Tramway Company, and the heavy losses which resulted to him from his acquaintance with M. Larmanjat.

During one period of his residence in England, the Marshal had retired to Torquay for the benefit of its milder climate: but the distance from London had prevented his return there, as his state of health compelled him to place himself under the care of Sir Henry Thompson. News of his severe illness having reached Queen Victoria, at the Villa Hohenlohe, in the early spring of 1876, her Majesty was pleased to make immediate enquiries concerning the state of the Marshal's health. The Duchess having replied to these enquiries, Lady Ely, on the 1st of April, kindly wrote in answer: "The Queen would like much to hear how the Duke continues. Her Majesty was much touched by your letter to me; and desires me to say how much her Majesty sympathises with, and for, you, in your great anxiety."

The author visited England towards the end of May, and found the Marshal suffering, but animated; and speaking with confidence of his return to Portugal in the autumn. In August his health and strength had improved, and he wrote to his nephew, D. Francisco de Almeida, at Lisbon:

"You can hardly imagine my sufferings during four months. Four times did the doctors declare I was in great danger; and, on the last occasion, they informed Amalia, that I had but a few hours to live. My friend, I assure you that I could have wished that the termination of my life had arrived, were it not the reflection of the condition in which I should leave my widow.

"Various unfortunate affairs have embittered my existence: but, entirely resigned to the Will of Providence, I suffer with patience; beseeching the Almighty to pardon my sins."

It was not alone the affair of the Larmanjat tramway to

which the Marshal referred; although in that unfortunate transaction he had invested many thousand pounds of borrowed money, which he had only been able to repay by a loan from a London banker. It was the conduct of an individual in whom he had, for several years, placed the most unbounded confidence, which affected the too confiding Marshal. He had trusted in him; and, although warned of his danger by many, both in England and Portugal, he had manfully stood up in his friend's defence. But, at length, circumstances made him aware of how greatly he had been deceived. We have before us many particulars, in the Marshal's handwriting, of the fraud practised upon him; and if that fraud should ever be brought before a criminal court, we have the written testimony of a living witness to prove his guilt from the man's own lips.

Towards the close of the London season of 1876, the Marshal went to Ramsgate; whence he returned to town at the end of September, greatly restored in health and strength by the good sea air. The Author had hoped to have made the journey homewards, through France and Spain, in company with him; but he now found it was Saldanha's intention to pass one more winter in England; and in London. "You see," said he, walking up and down the back drawing-room in Gloucester Place, "if the weather does not permit me to go out, I can take exercise here. I was four months confined in the Castle of S. George in a room smaller than this, and I never enjoyed better health in my life. If it please GOD, I will go to Portugal in the spring; and you will come and see us at Cintra."

The intention of taking so long a journey in the following year, implied the confidence the Marshal had in the continuation of his health and strength; not less does the letter he addressed to the Editor of the *Westminster Gazette* confirm his continued intellectual vigour. He wrote, on the 25th of September 1876:

"THE EASTERN QUESTION.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.

"SIR,—As you had the kindness of alluding in your last number to the few words that passed between us about the

Eastern Question, I feel the convenience of letting you know the whole of my opinion about it.

"I have the firm persuasion that Europe will never enjoy a durable peace, free from all anxiety, whilst Constantinople shall be in the power of the Turks, because, by that fact, Russia will continue to do all in her power to become master of the Bosphorus.

"The whole of Europe, and England above all, ought by all means to put an end to the ambition of Russia in Europe.

"Since many years I have no doubt that Russia tries all in her power to keep up the most intimate relations with the United States of North America, so that they will join her when the moment arrives to declare war against England.

"Russia will have the aid of the Balkan Provinces, whilst they will be either in the *statu quo ante bellum*, or under the new system, whatever it may be, settled by the intervention of the Great Powers.

"Having pointed out the dangers to all Europe, and especially to England, by the aggrandizement of Russia, I think I am obliged to say by what means, according to my opinion, it can be prevented. Let the Great Powers constitute a Federal Republic, and declare Constantinople a free town with the territory now belonging to the Porte; the whole under the protection and guardianship of all the European nations. Let the passage of the Black Sea be secured to all flags, and the fleets of England would soon overpower the vessels of Russia now domineering in that sea. The Federal Republic of the Balkan would never side with the despotic and ambitious Russia. Such, I think, ought to be the course that Europe should follow.

"Believe me, &c.,

"*Sept.* 25, 1876."

A few weeks later, we find the Paris correspondent of the *Standard* referring to somewhat similar views respecting the solution of the Eastern Question. He quoted from a recently published article by M. Louis Blanc, wherein that writer "lays down the fall of the Ottoman Empire as an inevitable fact:" and that, consequently, means must be sought to prevent such

fall "from taking place to the profit of any *one* invading despotic State." With this object, he proposes a confederation of "several independent States, united together by a federal tie;" and, "finally, on the Bosphorus, Constantinople, a free city, administered by a municipality independent of the other States, the centre of the Confederation, and the seat of the Federal Assembly." He further proposes, as a part of his scheme, that the European States should "guarantee the inviolability and independence of this free city."

Towards the conclusion of his London mission, Saldanha had been persuaded to commit to paper some few notes for the use of a future biographer. Having commenced by observing, that he had always felt a reluctance to write those things of himself, which he considered were to his honour, he added: "I cannot, however, resist the persuasion of that angel whom Divine Mercy has destined for the consolation of my old age, when she argues; that to be silent on the principal events of my life, would be to conceal the benefits which Providence has so continually conferred on me."

If the Marshal had carried out his intention, the world would have been possessed of an important and interesting biography; the absence of which it is impossible to supply. But, as he tells us, he was reluctant to write of those events which reflected honour upon himself. At times, he may have exclaimed with honest pride:—"Countrymen! On such a day, I assured your liberties by a victory over Despotism:" or; "I rescued Portugal from approaching anarchy:" but the noble sacrifices he had made; the temptations he had resisted; and the ingratitude he had met with; he was content should remain unrecorded.

For one who enjoyed society, and whose conversation was always listened to with interest and respect, the reticence he observed in speaking of those events, both political and military, in which he himself had so honourably figured, was very remarkable. Equally careful was he in never referring to his own innumerable acts of kindness and beneficence. He felt, that, although vanity might be gratified by their publicity, the truly humane heart could derive unalloyed satisfaction only

when conferring benefits in secret. A pleasing instance of this feeling occurred when the Author was at Rome in 1863.

At that time, a series of Discourses were being delivered by Dr. Manning, at one of the Churches in the Piazza del Populo. The fame of the preacher, not less than his persuasive eloquence, attracted, on each succeeding Sunday, a large congregation, composed equally of Protestants as of Catholicks, all desirous of listening to the words of so remarkable a man. On one of these days, Dr. Manning drew the attention of his congregation to the necessities of a small charitable Institution for aged poor, and solicited their alms for the following Sunday. On the arrival of that day, he made known from the pulpit that the aid he had asked for was no longer necessary; as, on the Monday following his request, a gentleman had called on him, and placed the entire amount at his disposal. After leaving the Church, much curiosity was manifested amongst the various groups who were conversing, or awaiting their carriages; and several were the persons whose names the Author heard pronounced as likely to have performed the generous action. Should these pages ever meet the eyes of any who were then present, that curiosity will be now gratified.

The remembrance of this circumstance, and the knowledge that the Marshal and his family were present on these occasions, induced the Author to address his Eminence, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Wesminster, to confirm his surmise, if correct, that the unknown donor was the Marshal Saldanha, himself! With that kindness and condescension, of which the Author has received so many proofs, the Cardinal immediately replied, on the 3rd of May, 1880, in the following words:

"I was preaching for the support of a house of aged poor in Rome; and I told the congregation that the sum of £30 was needed. The next day, the Duke de Saldanha came to me, and put into my hands the sum of £30, binding me by a promise not to reveal his name as the donor. On the following Sunday, I announced the fact without any name; saying that a true Christian had given all that was asked: binding me not to let his name be known. Only last week I was thinking of the

good Duke, and remembering this fact: and thinking of you also."

On the 23rd of October, 1876, the Author took his leave of the Marshal with a strong hope that, in the following year, he should again see him in Portugal. For he left him, to all appearance, stronger, and in better health, than he had seen him at any time during the whole summer. Alas! That hope was doomed to be disappointed!

CHAPTER XVII.

1876.

Saldanha completes his 86th year—Apparent health—Sudden illness—Prepares for death—Receives the Sacraments—His last words—Death—Lying-in-State—The Duke of Wellington—Requiem at French Chapel—Strange comments in the *Times*—Letter from Mr. Walpole—Body conveyed to Lisbon—Disembarkation—Funeral honours—Royal interment—The Army in mourning for eight days—Extraordinary respect for Saldanha's memory—The Marshal's Will—The Bâton—Ceremony of presentation—Pension to the widow—Singular state of law in Portugal—Universal testimony to Saldanha's high qualities.

A FEW friends were invited to dine in Gloucester Place on the 17th of November 1876, when the aged Marshal was about to complete his 86th year. On the 15th, he felt unusually well and cheerful; and had enjoyed a rubber at Whist, which, for some time past, had been his evening amusement. He retired at ten o'clock.

On the following morning, when they met at breakfast, the Duchess was alarmed at seeing a deep yellow colour, which over-spread her husband's face and hands. Sir Henry Thompson was immediately sent for—but, being from home, Mr. Brown, who had already attended the Marshal, came in his place, and prescribed some pills, which, shortly after taking, caused considerable pain. The Marshal was, at first, unwilling to disappoint those who were invited to dinner on his birthday; but the Duchess decided on making known that her husband was too ill to receive them. At his express desire, his homœopathic attendant, Dr. Leadham, was sent for in the afternoon.

On the morning of the 17th, the Marshal was still sufficiently well to hear Mass in his private apartment. During that day, Dr. Leadham attended him three times; and, on the last visit,

came accompanied by Dr. Baynes, who, at once, declared his opinion that there was no hope. Shortly afterwards, the Marshal, apparently, felt his end approaching. On the afternoon of the 18th, he prepared himself for death by confession and the reception of the Blessed Sacrament. He gave utterance, at times, to every expression that tender affection for his wife could dictate. In the evening, as his condition became worse, but whilst still in perfect consciousness, the final Sacrament of the Church—Extreme Unction—was administered to him by Father Christie. At its conclusion, he exclaimed, with intense satisfaction:—"Thank GOD!" These were the last words ever uttered by the Marshal. He closed his eyes, and fell into a gentle and painless sleep. During three long nights his anxious wife remained in the adjoining room; hoping, at each moment, to perceive some symptom of returning consciousness. But she hoped in vain. On the morning of the 21st, at 10 o'clock, the good Marshal, after one deep sigh, ceased to breathe. The Abbé Louis Toursel, at that moment, was praying aloud by his side; and it is believed that the Marshal was sensible of his presence.

The medical attendants ascribed his unexpected, and almost sudden, death to congestion of the liver, followed by congestion of the brain. Sir Henry Thompson, on his return to town on the 20th went, immediately, to Gloucester Place; but only to confirm the opinion, that no step that could have been taken would have prevented death. The body was embalmed and placed in a coffin; of which, in order to allow of the Marshal's features being seen, a part of the lid was formed of glass. This inner coffin was contained in one of Spanish mahogany, with silver handles and other ornaments, bearing a plate which recorded the age of the deceased, and the date of his death. During the time that the coffin remained in Gloucester Place, Mass was said every morning at eight o'clock, in an apartment hung with black drapery, and where, by day and night, the corpse was watched by French Sisters of Mercy.

Many were the visitors who came to Gloucester Place, with a higher motive than idle curiosity, to behold, once more, though in death, the well preserved features of the deceased. Amongst

others, was the Duke of Wellington; who, perhaps animated by the remembrance of the high opinion which his distinguished father entertained of Saldanha, knelt by the coffin, and exclaimed as he rose, "This was truly a great man."

On the evening of the 29th, the body was conveyed to the French Chapel, in King Street, which was fitted up as a *Chapelle Ardente*. On the following morning, a Requiem was chaunted by the Bishop of Amycla, assisted by Father Christie and the Abbé Toursel. The ceremony was numerously attended by the Corps Diplomatique, and by the Marshal's friends; conspicuous amongst whom was the venerable Admiral Sartorius. Sir Francis Seymour was present on the part of her Majesty.

In the course of the day, the coffin was brought back to the Legation, where it remained until the arrival of the ship-of-war, sent by the Portuguese Government to bring to its last resting-place all that remained of this noble, loyal, and virtuous man.

It is, we trust, no longer necessary to vindicate the character of the Duke de Saldanha from the already forgotten attacks of former political opponents. But, in the haste with which notices of his death were given in the daily and other papers, many inaccuracies appeared, which were, doubtless, unintentional; since it confounded him with one of the same name long since deceased. But having thus falsified his acts, the writers, with equal inaccuracy, imputed motives for Saldanha's conduct which, most certainly, never influenced him. For instance, there were some observations in the *Times*—a paper generally so careful and well-informed—which led to the following remonstrance from Mr. Walpole:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

"Sir,—At the close of your notice of the life of the Duke of Saldanha, the following sentence occurs:—'Most of his struggles were for petty or personal objects.' Upon this I beg to offer a few remarks.

"From a friendship with the Marshal, extending over 30 years; and from the very great opportunities I have had (in consequence of my intimacy with him, owing to a close connec-

tion through marriage), of appreciating the personal character of the Marshal, I feel that the words 'petty' and 'personal' in connection with the Marshal's name are unjust. I do not believe that any man ever lived whose character should be less associated with such words. His faults were eminently such as belong to a man who does not attach the proper importance to detail. The prominent characteristics of his nature were elevation of thought, singlemindedness, and largeness of heart; and it was certainly to the complete absence of selfishness, that his extraordinary popularity, extending to all classes of society, was owing in his own country.

"The most important struggle in which he was engaged, and which may be considered as the key to his subsequent political conduct, may be termed 'petty,' having regard to the limited geographical proportions of his country. But the struggle was not the less a hard fought one, nor was it unimportant; and I think the historian will admit, that it was in no small degree owing to the great military capacity of the Marshal—who sustained the Charter granted by King John VI.*—that constitutional monarchy prevails at this day over Cæsarism or Republicanism, not only in Portugal, but in the whole Peninsula.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"F. GOULBURN WALPOLE.

"12, GLOUCESTER PLACE, PORTMAN SQUARE, *Nov.* 22."

There were many who expressed not less indignation; amongst them was the Duke of Wellington, who did not suffer such an article to pass unnoticed. He wrote immediately to the Duchess—whose greatest happiness now left on earth was the remembrance of her husband's glory:—"What a foolish, false, obituary that was in the *Times!*"

We copy the following short notice from a London paper:—

"At nine o'clock yesterday morning, the coffin containing the remains of the late Portuguese Ambassador was removed from

* D. João VI. was compelled to give a Constitution before he died. But it was his son and successor to the throne, D. Pedro IV., who, in 1826, gave the Charter to which Mr. Walpole intended to refer.

Gloucester Place to Gravesend; the hearse and one mourning coach, each drawn by four horses, proceeding the whole distance by road. The Duke de Saldanha's armorial bearings were on the drapery of the hearse, and the departure of the procession, early as it was, attracted a considerable number of spectators. The *cortège* on reaching Gravesend,—joined by the mayor and corporation,—passed down High Street shortly before three o'clock. The Chargé d'Affaires and Secretary of Legation, accompanied by the Rev. Louis Toursel, of the French chapel in King Street, preceded the hearse on foot through the town to the old pier, where the coffin was placed on board a steamer and conveyed to the corvette *Rainha;* the members of the embassy following in the launch belonging to the ship-of-war. Salutes were fired from Tilbury Fort, as well as from the Portuguese vessel, which carried her flag half-mast high. The state-room of the ship had been fitted up as a *chapelle ardente*, and the coffin was placed on an immovable bier in the centre, on which it was securely fastened, so that the heaviest sea cannot disturb its position. To-day the Duchess de Saldanha leaves town for Southampton, where she will embark for Lisbon."

The ship-of-war, *Rainha de Portugal*, bearing the body of Portugal's most illustrious citizen, entered the Tagus on the 19th of December, at two o'clock in the afternoon. From the Fort of S. Julian it received a salute of 19 guns; and as many from the tower of Belem, as it steamed its way towards the city. The ships of war in the Tagus, and the merchant vessels, hoisted their flags half-mast high. The Marines of the Channel Squadron were drawn up on deck, with arms reversed; and the band played the "Dead March" in Saul. H. B. M. ship *Minotaur* and the Portuguese war-ships *Vasco de Gama* and *D. Fernando* fired minute guns so long as the corpse remained on board the vessel which brought it. At the moment when the coffin was lowered into the state barge, which had left the Arsenal accompanied by the Ministers and other persons of rank, salutes of 19 guns were fired from the *D. Fernando* and *Rainha de Portugal;* whilst the Commandants and officers of all the war-ships at anchor in the river, in mourning uniform, entered their boats and followed the barge to the landing place.

These, together with those in which were the Ministers, Generals and others, formed a *cortège* of more than thirty boats. Thence, they joined the procession which accompanied the coffin to the Chapel of S. Roque, at the Naval Arsenal, where it had been determined that the body should lie in state. A guard of honour, selected from the regiment in which the Marshal first entered the service, did duty there until the funeral took place; and, all night long, the body was watched by the Marshal's former aides-de-camp. The national flag waved half-mast high over the Arsenal.

On the following morning, Mass was said in the Chapel, which was thronged with visitors; all anxious to behold, once more, the face of their beloved countryman.

Some years previous to his decease, the Marshal had sent to France for a handsome and costly mausoleum, which had been erected over his family vault in the public cemetery of Lisbon; and where the bodies of his first wife and of his daughter were placed. But the Sovereign of Portugal would not permit that a subject so greatly distinguished, above all others, for the services he had rendered to the Crown, and to the country, should have other last resting place than beside his own royal ancestors; and he publicly expressed his deep regret for the loss of one "distinguished as much by his brilliant deeds of arms, as by his eminent civil virtues and unsullied loyalty."

The Duchess de Saldanha, after leaving London, had reached Lisbon some days before the arrival of the vessel bearing the remains of her honoured husband. As in duty bound, she hastened to pay her respects to their Majesties; and the reception she met with from Sr. D. Luiz, who tenderly embraced her, was kind, considerate, and affecting.

On the day of the funeral, the Author accompanied his sister to the tribune prepared for her; and was present at the grand and imposing ceremony which took place in the Church of S. Vicente. On the road thither, the solemn quiet displayed by the myriads assembled, denoted rather some great national calamity, than the curiosity of crowds collected to witness a magnificent public spectacle.

The reader will be enabled to form some idea of the cere-

monies attending the Marshal's funeral, from the accounts given of it in the Lisbon papers.

The road which the procession had to take was lined by all the military force in garrison at Lisbon: the cavalry being personally commanded by his royal Highness, the Infante D. Augusto.

By 10 o'clock, the streets were already crowded; and the windows of the public offices and private houses which bordered the road to the church were filled with spectators, of whom the greater number—especially amongst the ladies—were in deep mourning.

At a quarter past 11, the procession—of which more than 200 carriages formed a part—left the Naval Arsenal on its way to the Church of S. Vicente, which is above a mile distant: and so considerable was its length, that a portion of it had already reached the church before a detachment of the 4th Cavalry, which preceded the carriages of the Cabinet Ministers, issued from the Arsenal.

These were followed by four richly gilt royal state carriages; each drawn by six horses, and accompanied by thirty-two footmen in the royal livery, who walked on either side bearing torches. In the first of these carriages were General Damazio Gorjão with the Marshal's *bâton;* the Count de Fonte Nova with his sword; Major D. Rodrigo de Almeida with the three Grand Crosses of the Portuguese military Orders; and Major D. Francisco de Almeida with the Marshal's hat. The sword was of gold; and was the one presented to the Marshal, in 1851, by the merchants of Oporto.

In the second carriage was seated the Major Domo of the Duke, bearing, on a black velvet cushion, the ducal crown covered with crape.

The third contained General D. Luiz de Mascarenhas; Count de Linhares; Viscount de Mossamedes; and General Sousa Pinto; respectively representing their Majesties the King, the Queen, and Sr. D. Fernando.

The fourth was occupied by the Rev. Prior and the Coadjutor of the parish of S. Julian, in which the Arsenal is situated, accompanied by two acolytes.

After these, followed two State carriages; each of which was drawn by eight horses with black trappings, and covered with velvet housing bordered with gold. Sixteen servants of the royal household walked on either side. The first of these, in accordance with state ceremony, was empty; and is denominated the "carriage of honour." The second contained the coffin. On the right of it rode Viscount de Sagres, General in command of the 1st military Division; and on the left, Captain Luiz Pires Monteiro Bandeira, an Aide-de-Camp of the late Marshal; accompanied by Sappers of the 1st Infantry, and by servants of the palace bearing waxen torches. The Marshal's horse, a fine bay charger, draped in black and unshod, next followed, led by a corporal of the 2nd Lancers.

A considerable number of that Corps known as the "Veteranos"—officers and soldiers—marched immediately afterwards; and their aged appearance, with their white hair and moustaches formed a striking contrast to the brilliant Staff which followed them. Here were to be seen Generals Palmeirim, Azevedo, Silva Castello Branco, Xavier, Travassos Valdez, Almeida Macedo, Feijo, and Schwalbach, with their Aides-de-Camp, and numerous Staff officers.

Next came a force of cavalry,—led by H. R. H. D. Augusto, younger brother of the King,—which consisted of the 1st Lancers and the 4th Cavalry. The 1st Brigade of Infantry, under General Talaya, consisting of the 2nd Caçadores and the 5th and 16th Foot; and the 2nd Brigade, under General França, composed of the 5th Caçadores and 1st, 2nd, and 7th Foot, were drawn up two deep from the Arsenal Gate to the Largo do Trigo; and, as the end of the procession passed, each section of twelve men wheeled to its left, and took its place in the *cortège*.

In the carriages which formed part of the long line, were seen the Nuncio of His Holiness, and the representatives of Austria, Belgium, England, France, Prussia, and Spain; together with other members of the diplomatic and consular body; Admiral Beauchamp Seymour and his Flag Lieutenant; the Ministers and Councillors of State; numerous members of the high nobility; officers of all ranks from the army and navy;

relations and friends of the deceased; representatives of the Press, and of all the corporate bodies and associations of Lisbon.

On leaving the Arsenal, and on entering the Church of S. Vicente, the handles of the coffin were held in turn by the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues; by the Marquises of Fronteira and Avila; Generals Barreiros, Palmeirim, Mello e Saldanha, and Faro; Admiral Soares Franco; and others. The key of the coffin, which, according to the custom in Portugal, is locked, was given to the Count de Rio Maior, as head of the Saldanha family.

The correspondent of the *Times* thus closed his account of the ceremony:—

"The body arrived at the church of San Vicente at 1 p.m., and was met at the door by the Patriarch of Lisbon and a large body of priests, together with all the Ministers. The King and his father, D. Fernando, with the whole of the Court, were present, and the Duchess of Saldanha and the family and friends. As soon as the coffin was placed in the catafalque the religious service commenced, and "*Libera me*" was chanted. The Absolution was pronounced by the Patriarch; and at 3 o'clock the firing of the volleys by the troops, and the thunder roll of 19 guns from the Castle of St. George, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain, the roar of which nearly drowned the roar of the rifles and cannon, formed an appropriate ending to the career of war and storm of the Marshal Duke of Saldanha. The honours paid to the late Duke of Saldanha were the same as those paid to the Royal family, and the presence of the King and his father, D. Fernando, at the funeral, gave great and general satisfaction, as, of course, it is not customary for the Head of the State to attend the funerals of subjects.

"The Church of San Vicente was draped in black, and very richly decorated,—more so even than on the occasion of the funeral of the late Infanta Isabella Maria. The church was crowded with persons of both sexes and all conditions, and among them were noticed a large number of English."

As a public mark of respect to the memory of the Marshal, and of profound grief for his loss, the King gave orders that the entire army should go into mourning during eight days.

The Members of the Municipal Chamber of Lisbon declared, in the Minutes of their sessions, their deep feeling of regret at his death. Their example was followed by other Chambers and associations throughout the country; many of which sent deputations to attend the funeral, and ordered Masses to be said for the repose of the soul of the honoured Marshal.

On the occasion of a Mass celebrated at the Church of S. Justa, more than 3000 persons were said to have testified, by their presence, their devotion and their respect. The King was represented by General Folque; and, in addition to a vast number of the friends and relations of the deceased Marshal, H. R. H. D. Augusto was present, together with many Generals; naval and military commandants; all the officers in garrison; *employés* connected with the War Office and all other Military departments; professors of the Military College; Deputies; etc. etc., and forty soldiers selected from each Corps quartered in Lisbon.

Shortly before his death, (on the 20th of October,) the Marshal had signed his last Will and Testament. In this he declared, that having reached an age at which he could not expect a much further prolonged existence; and not knowing when Divine Providence might please to terminate it; he had resolved to settle his worldly affairs. Thanking the Almighty for so many favours which had been vouchsafed to him, he added, that next to the Salvation of his Soul, the greatest blessing which he now aspired to from GOD'S infinite Mercy, was to leave this world, as he had hitherto lived in it, honoured by his country; with a tranquil conscience; and resigned to quit this mortal life.

After various bequests, he expressed his desire that his widow should select a person to whom she could entrust the examination of his papers, writings, documents, and correspondence; in order to destroy such as that person should deem fit; and preserve those which might be useful for contemporary history, or other purpose.

The Will concluded with the bequest of his *bâton* of Field Marshal to the regiment in which he had first taken service in the year 1805.

We will here mention, that in the year following the Marshal's decease, the *bâton* was presented, according to his desire, to the 1st Regiment of Infantry, at the barracks in the *Calçada de Ajuda.*

At half past ten in the morning of October 11th 1877, the Infante D. Augusto, in the uniform of a Brigadier-General, arrived at the barracks, where he was received by the Prime Minister; the Minister of Justice; and by many distinguished Generals and other officers. At 11 o'clock, the Minister of War having made his appearance, General Damazio, the Marshal's brave and long attached friend, produced the *bâton* and proceeded to the parade in front of the barracks, accompanied by a guard of honour of the Sappers of the regiment, and followed by all the generals and others who were present. Having reached the centre of the parade, all stood uncovered while General Viscount de Sagres read aloud the following extract from the Marshal's Will:—

"In conclusion, and as the expression of one of my latest wishes, as far as are concerned the affairs of this world, where, of the honours and glory I obtained, none was more esteemed by me than that of having belonged to the noble and loyal Portuguese Army, which, with its courage and steady discipline always aided me in preserving so honourably the glory of the country, and the reputation of its flag; and in testimony of my gratitude, of my love, and of my esteem for such an army, I bequeath to the regiment No. 1, whose ranks I entered in the year 1805, my Marshal's *bâton,* acquired with a consciousness of having deserved it by the faithful execution of my duties as a soldier; and bequeathed with the consolation, that the sword which gained it never suffered humiliating defeat during the long course of my hazardous campaigns both in America and in Europe; nor met with aught which could sully it, during 71 years spent in the service of my country, and in the army to which I now bid a kind adieu, with the most ardent prayers that our Lord GOD may preserve it worthy of its country, faithful to the King, and a firm protector of our religion, of society, and of the Portuguese Nation."

After this, General Damazio, who had been much affected

during the reading, handed the *bâton* to General Sagres, who placed it in the hands of the Colonel of the regiment. The Colonel, followed by all present, then advanced to the room prepared for its reception, where it was deposited in a gilt frame surmounted by a ducal coronet.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, the band played the Saldanha hymn.

On the death of the Marshal, his widow received demonstrations of condolence, both personally and by letter, from many. The Marquis de Avila, one well qualified to judge of the loss that Portugal had sustained, wrote to her in the following terms. "Your grief will be shared by the whole country, which will render justice to the eminent qualities and brilliant services of your noble husband, whose memory will descend to posterity surrounded by an imperishable glory." This eulogy was not dictated solely by the partial feelings of private friendship: it came from a distinguished Statesman—since honoured by his Sovereign with ducal rank—who has, on three occasions, occupied the post of Prime Minister; has held, since 1841, the various portfolios of Finance, Justice, Foreign, Home, and Public Works; and who, as a diplomatist, has rendered valuable services to his country.

Shortly after the Duchess's arrival at Lisbon, votes of condolence were passed in both Houses of the Portuguese Parliament; and a Member from each was deputed personally to convey to her their deep feeling of regret at her bereavement.

The reader will remember the anxiety expressed by Saldanha, towards the close of his life, respecting the pecuniary situation of his wife at his decease, an anxiety which was allayed by the reflection, that his country would not do less for his widow than it had done for the Duchess da Terceira. His expectations were met by his countrymen to the following extent.

By a royal decree made towards the conclusion of the last century, all officers of the Portuguese Army became subject to a deduction of one day's pay in each month; and, in return, the State guaranteed a pension to their widows or children. This establishment is denominated the Monte Pio Militar. It

entitles the widow of a Marshal to an annual allowance of £266. At the death of the Duke da Terceira, in 1860, the Chambers immediately granted to his widow a pension of £978; which, added to the allowance from the Monte Pio, and the emoluments derived from the life-appointment of Camareira-mór, raised her income from the State to considerably above the six contos (£1333) which the Marshal had hoped that his country would, at his decease, grant to the Duchess de Saldanha. But, from motives which we have no desire to discuss, a proposal, after much delay, was brought before the Chambers for granting so inconsiderable a pension to the Marshal's widow as £533. Even then, there were found two Deputies who opposed the grant of any pension whatever to the widow of one who, for his distinguished services, had been interred with royal honours. But the reader will be astonished; as was the Parliament which granted the pension; and the Ministers who proposed it; and the country which sanctioned it; when, on application, in due time, for the first quarter's payment, the widow was informed that, ere she could receive it, she must renounce the pension from the Monte Pio Militar, to which she was legally entitled by the sacrifice which her husband had been *compelled* to make of a day's pay in every month since the year 1805!! Such was the interpretation now given to a law passed in 1867; of which the Ministers themselves were ignorant; of which no use had ever been made; and of which so little was known, that a Deputy, in defending a proposal for a still smaller pension to the Marshal's widow, had argued, that the amount derived from the *Monte Pio* would still be added to the pension.

When this strange law was disentombed, the Chambers were no longer sitting; and, as they did not reassemble until the 2nd of January, 1878, the pension remained unpaid. On the 11th of February, Sr. Camara Leme observed in the Chamber of Deputies, that, by this interpretation of the law, the pension granted to the Marshal's widow by the State would, in reality, amount to but an annual sum of £266. He added, with some indignation, respecting the delay which had taken place, and which the Ministers might have rendered unnecessary, that a

pension had been recently granted to one Santos, an actor, who had become blind; and that certain formalities, which, in the case of the Marshal's widow had been considered necessary, had been dispensed with in favour of the actor!

This generous friend of the Marshal concluded his remarks by observing: "In this place affairs are more often determined by political influences than by their justice."

A favourable interpretation to the singular law of 1867, was not given until the 2nd of May, 1878—*the last day of the Session*—until which time, the pension which had been voted in March of the previous year was withheld! An annual pension of £444, for his life, was voted, at the same time, to the Marshal's sole surviving son, the present Duke de Saldanha.

If some "political influences"—as referred to by Sr. Camara Leme,—were brought to bear respecting the smallness of these pensions, and the delay which arose in granting them, we may, nevertheless in general, justly observe, that, whatever unworthy feelings had been once entertained by Envy and Jealousy towards Marshal Saldanha, their tongues, at his death, became silent. But the voice of praise was heard from every corner of Portugal. If there were found many amongst his countrymen who, influenced by their political principles, censured his views, or his conduct, at particular epochs; all now agreed that he was, on each occasion, actuated by an honest sense of duty to his Sovereign and to his country. In our narrative we have seen this judgment constantly confirmed by the impartial testimony of English and foreign statesmen; by diplomatists; and by others with whom Saldanha was politically concerned: and when the honest Marshal was no more, writers of all parties hastened to raise their voices in his honour. The author trusts that no apology is needed for closing these volumes with a few extracts from the writings of Saldanha's own countrymen.

The report of his death was received so unexpectedly at Lisbon, that, on the following morning, the Editor of a paper thus expressed the general surprise.

"Yesterday afternoon the news of the death of the Marshal circulated from mouth to mouth; at the Public Offices; beneath

their adjoining arcades; in the Chiado;* and, thence, with telegraphic rapidity, it spread from Office to Office; from street to street; and from house to house. Everybody was taken with surprise, as of an event out of the course of nature, and, humanly speaking, impossible.

"For, indeed, that extraordinary existence appeared consubstantial with the lustre of its great deeds; and seemed as eternal as that brilliant glory itself, which will shine for ever in the military and political history of the country. . . . .

"The loss of his daughter; the affair of the Larmanjat Company—an undertaking in which he, with the natural candour of his character, and, at times, a simplicity almost childish, had persuaded himself that he had resolved the problem of highway transit; a fraud practised upon him with breach of confidence; and, perhaps, other causes to which all men are exposed; contributed to increase the Marshal's illness. He had, latterly, more than once wished for repose; and to return to his own country, towards which his heart yearned; but the importance of his position was such, that he could not move a step without causing the earth under him to tremble—without becoming the subject of party exigencies and accusations—and he was compelled to sacrifice his own comfort and desires to political convenience." †

After summing up the leading events of the Marshal's life, the writer continued:

"How shall we describe him as a man? His heart was full of kindness. The greater part of the remuneration with which his country rewarded his services was given amongst his poor relations and friends; and, not less so, to the unfortunate and unknown. Only a few days ago, he had written to one of his nephews reminding him—was it a presentiment of his coming

* The Pall Mall of Lisbon.

† In the month previous to the Marshal's death—when it was known that he had relinquished the idea of an immediate return to Portugal—the Author received, from an English friend at Lisbon, the following note:—"His not coming will be a great blow to the fishers in troubled waters. The papers had given out that there would be a meeting of his *friends* to form a party, and decide upon the attitude they should take towards the Government."

end?—to pay the rents of various poor people with which he had charged himself. His table and his purse were open to all. His feelings were easily moved, and abounded in tenderness. The Marshal had the hopeful phantasies and enthusiasm of childhood; but his aim was always to do good."

Another writer observed, that even if the Marshal, as a Statesman, was not so distinguished as he was as a General, yet that the benefits derived from his energetic conduct in 1851, and during his long administration from that period, were of lasting importance to the country, both as regarded political reforms, and the advancement of its material prosperity.

Himself a soldier and ex-Minister of State, he refers to the Marshal's death in the following terms:

"The most illustrious General of the Portuguese Army, and one of the first of Europe, is no more. One of our most important statesmen is gone from amongst us. One of the noblest and most generous, of hearts—that of a soldier, a gentleman, and a *fidalgo*—no longer beats.

"The entire Nation mourns the loss of one of its most venerated sons. The Army weeps for the absence of its most valiant Captain. His family and his friends are deprived of their best, most faithful, and most generous support.

"Now that the earth will shortly close over that inanimate body; now that its brilliant history may be written impartially, and that ill-placed Envy will cease; a grateful friend and humble comrade offers a few words as a tribute, ere he sheds a tear at his tomb, and places by the side of his ducal coronet, ornamented with the laurels of Victory, and with the palm of philanthropy, a modest wreath of *immortelles* and *saudades*."*

Another writer, after commencing his tribute of respect with the sentence following: "We may say of the Marshal what Montecuculi said of Turenne: 'we have lost a man who was an honour to mankind,'"† adds; that it was by the invincible

* This expressive word is also the name of a flower.

† "All France lamented the loss of this great man, whose generosity and modesty, joined to his military virtues, and the noblest qualities of a hero, had made him admired throughout Europe."—"Life of Marshal Turenne."

sword of the Marshal, that Portugal obtained her freedom; that constitutional monarchy was established; and that diverse political parties were united. "In the midst of his enterprises, even the most hazardous, the Marshal appeared invulnerable. It may be said that the balls respected that life which his country's gratitude and affection held in fervent and enthusiastic veneration. . . . . In every Court in Europe, the Marshal Saldanha was known and respected. If his military fame was equal to that of the most distinguished soldiers, his reputation as a statesman and a diplomatist had claims to equal honour. . . . . There was a something to be venerated in that majestic presence. As he passed, all saluted that grandeur of a triple crown; represented by the white locks which encircled his brow; by his intellectual acquirements; and by the kindness of his heart.

"For a kindness of heart was truly possessed by the Marshal Saldanha. But in this virtue we may, perhaps, discover the secret of his weakness. He has been accused of prodigality. To this reproach may we not reply, that he was extravagant, because he gave away all he possessed; or rather, that he possessed nothing, because he gave to others everything he acquired.

"There are few houses where you do not see a portrait of the Marshal Saldanha; and very few persons who are unable to relate some anecdote of his inexhaustible generosity of disposition.

"It was impossible to be more charitable; more compassionate; more noble; more *fidalgo;* because *fidalguia* consists, for the most part, in generosity of disposition, and in elevation of sentiments."

Amongst those who furnished their tribute of respect to the Marshal was a lady, remarkable for her talent as an authoress. She wrote:

"The Press has unanimously done justice to the reputation which the valiant General has left to posterity; but they have, jointly with their eulogies, made restrictions as regards what they are pleased to call his *political errors.*

"I do not know, nor do I care to know, what these *political errors* were.

"Let History decide.

"What I know of him delights me.

"He was kind, generous, prodigal as a *millionnaire*, or as a poet; he loved to protect the weak; danger had a fascination for him; and nothing could be more noble, more generous, or more truly *fidalgo*, than his devotion to the cause of that Queen, so tender in years, who brought to the Portuguese, with the promises implied in her virgin name, the Charter of Liberty, and our redemption from an oppression, as profoundly cruel as it was stupid."

The following lines, it must be confessed, estimate the domestic character of the good Marshal in its weaknesses, with as much truth, as in its transcendent virtues.

"The Marshal was extremely amiable in society; and his manners were so captivating that few were able to resist their influence. By an extraordinary incongruity, he allowed himself, on many occasions, to be imposed upon by obscure adventurers. His kindness of heart was proverbial. No one ever sought his assistance without obtaining it. From this easy and overflowing generosity proceeded many troubles which brought him into difficulties. Of the Duke de Saldanha it may be truly said that he left behind him many censurers; not a few envious; but not one enemy."

The *Revolução de Setembro*, the Editor of which had, at times, been one of Saldanha's most bitter (and most talented) political opponents, thus expressed itself:

"The Portuguese Press fulfils a rigorous duty. For a moment there was a lull in the paltry struggles of party strife; and all, unanimously, bowed, respectfully, to the memory of a distinguished personage of our three constitutional epochs.

"The politician is dead; and the dispassionate history of the Statesman commences. A valiant Soldier, a daring General has departed: let unfading laurels from henceforward be woven in the crown which will be placed at the head of the pages of the military history of our days, where will be found the *epopée* of this favoured child of Victory. . . . .

"In our political struggles, he never hesitated to carry out a resolution once formed, however dangerous might be the path he had to follow.

"Disinterested, and always ready to serve a friend, he never allowed suffering to increase which it was in his power to allay; nor extended an empty hand to those who begged his assistance.

"He possessed such qualities of attracting the esteem of his comrades, that he was proverbially known as the beloved idol of our army. And it was not only in the Army that his popularity was sustained. Let the population of this city reply! Let those answer who were present at his entry into Lisbon in the month of May 1851!

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